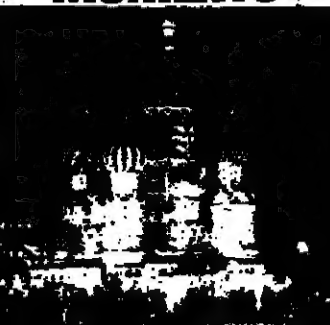


TEY LI CHOW
Giant kosher Chinese
Strict Shabbat observance
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Jerusalem, 8 Rabin St., Tel. 02-655956
Ramatana, 148 Ahuzat, Tel. 052-456770

SHABBAT BEGINS ENDS
Jerusalem 4:00 p.m. 5:15 p.m.
Tel Aviv 4:18 p.m. 5:16 p.m.
Haifa 4:07 p.m. 5:13 p.m.

MOSCOW MOMENTS



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Page 4



GAZA ILLUSIONS
Page 20



CHIEF RABBI STANDS FIRM
Page 8

Zionists call for equality in Judaism

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Zionist Congress last night called for "complete equality for all streams within Judaism," which would give their rabbis in Israel the "legal right to perform all life-cycle events and other rabbinic functions."

The resolution was passed by 291 votes, with 271 against, at the closing session of the Congress, which was also expected to elect a new World Zionist Organization Executive. Labour and the Likud negotiated into the early hours of this morning, but failed to reach agreement on the distribution of portfolios.

The resolution on religious equality was supported by the Labour bloc, which included Mapam, the Confederation of United Zionists and the Reform and Conservative Zionist organizations. It was strenuously opposed by the Likud and the Mizrahi.

In a statement issued after the vote, the Mizrahi said that this resolution would have "no real effect on the Knesset" and constituted "interference with the laws of the state of Israel." The Mizrahi said that it would be forced to "reconsider its place" in the Zionist movement, since its cooperation with other parties had been based on an understanding that "religious-halachic questions" would not be discussed.

A serious conflict between Labour and the Likud over a resolution on the peace process was averted by a compromise formula prepared by new WZO Chairman Simcha Dinitz.

The resolution defined the "quest for peace as a central goal and national interest" of Israel, and said that this should be pursued "through direct negotiations" based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. The PLO was ruled out as a partner in such talks.

Premier Shamir, who addressed the closing session, said that "it was inconceivable to question the legitimacy of any Jew, whether he belongs

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

Superpowers pleased, but still remain far apart on regional issues

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday described his summit with President Ronald Reagan as "a major event in world politics" which would likely begin "a new phase" in American-Soviet relations.

"Much has happened," Gorbachev told a nationally televised news conference last night, two hours before his scheduled departure from Washington.

Senior White House officials said last night that Reagan and Gorbachev had agreed to set up a joint American-Soviet committee which would study options for continued Strategic Defence Initiative research and testing the U.S. Star Wars project — according to a broad interpretation of the 1972 U.S.-Soviet ABM accord.

This agreement would represent a victory for President Reagan who resisted a Soviet demand in Reykjavik to accept a narrow interpretation of the 1972 accord that would in effect have put a halt to SDI.

American TV networks last night broadcast this news bulletin during

ent that they failed to resolve many of the outstanding regional and human rights differences between their countries.

President Reagan expressed disappointment at the failure to make progress on regional conflicts. He said "we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved," adding that the conflicts continue to take a heavy toll in lives and "impose a heavy burden on East-West relations."

Reagan acknowledged that the two sides remained far apart on these issues and that their differences had been expressed "bluntly" during the summit.

But he said Washington and Moscow had to "press ahead to search for political solutions that advance the cause of peace and freedom for the people suffering in these wars."

Gorbachev came to the news conference directly from a meeting with top U.S. business leaders during which he complained bitterly about the linkage of U.S. trade benefits to Soviet emigration policies.

A joint U.S.-Soviet statement released late last night said that "practical and concrete results in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet relationship" was achieved.

But it was clear that the principle focus of the talks throughout the summit was on arms control. Gorbachev, for example, spent most of the

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

Reactions, analysis comment — Pages 3, 5

Gorbachev's press conference. They also predicted that in his press conference later last night President Reagan was expected to announce a joint American-Soviet space venture.

But based on their carefully-drafted farewell statements, it was appar-



CONFRONTATION IN GAZA: A soldier forcibly warns a resident he is breaking the curfew. (Media)

Mikhail meets some Americans

WASHINGTON (AFP) — Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev caught everybody by surprise, including his combined KGB and U.S. Secret Service security detail, when he stopped his armored Zil limousine yesterday in central Washington and shook hands with the lunchtime crowd.

Gorbachev and U.S. Vice President George Bush were heading from the Soviet embassy to the White House in the same car when Gorbachev suddenly ordered the limousine to halt and got out to meet some Americans.

"He talked about world peace," said Patti Terry, who was Christmas shopping with her friend Kimberly Spartin when Gorbachev jumped from the car. "I touched him. I touched him," said a stunned Miss Spartin. "I'm still shaking."

Two more shot dead as areas violence spreads

By JOEL GREENBERG and BRADLEY BURSTON
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Two more Palestinian youths were shot to death yesterday as unrest mounted in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In Nablus, a soldier shot and killed a Palestinian teenager with a sniper rifle and wounded another yesterday in a clash with stone-throwing youths in downtown Nablus. In the Gaza Strip town of Khan Yunis, an 11-year-old boy was shot in the head during disturbances, and later died of his wounds. They brought to three the number of dead in this week's disturbances.

A high-ranking IDF officer said unrest was spreading to the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, where a protester was shot and killed

Wednesday, and over 40 persons have been wounded in two days of riots. The West Bank demonstrations were also connected to today's anniversary of the founding of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, he said.

The fatal incident in Nablus occurred on Hirtin Street at the entrance to the Nablus casbah, after dozens of youths hurled stones and bottles at an IDF patrol. An officer was gashed in the hand by glass when a bottle shattered on a light pole near him. A shopkeeper said he saw a group of several soldiers standing behind the corner of a building, some 30 metres from the youths, and the two groups clashed intermittently for some hours. He said the soldiers fired rubber bullets,

(Continued on Page Nineteen)

Nissim moves to cut cabinet wages

BY AVI TREMKIN

Without notifying his cabinet colleagues, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim has taken steps to alter the basis of their salary structure. If implemented, these changes would lead to an erosion in their wages. Also affected will be the salaries of Knesset members, deputy ministers, top government officials, judges and

President Chaim Herzog.

In letters he sent this week to the chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee, Avraham Shapira, and the chairman of the House Committee, Michael Reiser, Nissim proposed that top public officials' salaries no longer be linked to the national average wage.

Instead, Nissim suggested that

those salaries be linked to the average wage in the public sector and that increments be paid only when public sector workers also receive wage hikes. Until such changes are implemented, Nissim said in his letter, wages of top public officials should be adjusted once a year, and not four times a year.

(See interview with Nissim — page 7.)

F-16 price seen stumbling block in MOU talks

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The major item on Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin's agenda when he arrives here Sunday will be the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between Israel and the U.S. that grants Israel virtually the same rights as Nato countries in its dealing with the American military.

The 10-year agreement, hammered out between Israeli and American defence teams during Director-General David Ivri's visit here last month, will cover many spheres, including research and development ventures and procurement, and will basically replace the last MOU signed between the two countries four years ago.

However, there are still many is-

sues that remain to be settled, including:

• The total price for the 75 F-16s Israel intends to order, and the timetable for their delivery. The issue is a complicated one since the price cannot be set until Israel specifies what it wants included in Peace Marble Three, as the F-16 deal is codenamed. Nor has agreement been

(Continued on back page)

Dollar tumbles as U.S. trade deficit deepens

NEW YORK (Reuters) — The dollar, along the share and credit markets in Europe and the U.S., tumbled yesterday after being hit by news of a record monthly U.S. trade gap.

The gaping \$17.63 billion deficit surprised forecasters who had expected a shortfall of about \$14.6b, and lowered hopes that the U.S. trade picture was beginning to turn

around. The deficit was sharply higher than the \$14.08b. trade gap in September and surpassed the previous record of \$16.47b. in July, which was blamed as a major factor in the October 19 plunge of the Dow.

The New York share market took time to produce its assessment of the grim trade news. The Dow Jones Industrial Average, which had surged by 135 points in a three-day

rally earlier in the week, tumbled 49 points in the first 30 minutes before reversing the decline. The index remained largely unchanged throughout most of the day, before plunging 47.08 points to 1,855.44 at close.

On European currency markets and stock exchanges there was less indecision. Share prices fell sharply and immediately in reaction to the unexpectedly large trade deficit.

Kollek raps Sharon setting up house in Old City

By ANDY COURT

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek yesterday attacked Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon's decision to move into the heart of the Moslem Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City and said he would not attend a Hanukka candle-lighting ceremony at Sharon's new apartment next week. (Photograph — Page 2)

"I believe from the depths of my heart in our historic right [to Jerusalem]," Kolek wrote to Sharon after receiving an invitation to the ceremony. "But another apartment will bring us no glory."

He charged that Sharon was providing extremist Palestinian elements with a perfect tool to stir up trouble and thus weaken Israel's claim to a unified Jerusalem. Arabs in the Moslem Quarter will no doubt interpret Sharon's move as part of a plan to drive them out of their neighbourhood entirely, he said.

Sharon intends to light the first candle of Hanukka Tuesday evening

before a number of friends and political guests. For the past several weeks, he and his wife have been renovating the two-room apartment on 35 Hagai St., the street which runs from the Damascus Gate towards the Western Wall Plaza.

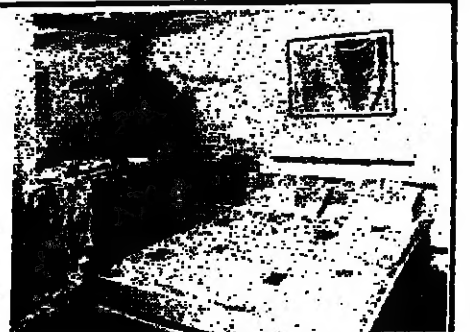
Extensive security precautions are expected for the candle-lighting, not to mention the time that Sharon actually spends at the new residence. He is expected to divide his time between the comparatively cramped quarters in the Old City and his comfortable ranch in the south.

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

5 days to Hanukka



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| | MIN. | MAX. | WIND | WEATHER |
|----------------|------|------|------|---------|
| AMSTERDAM | -5 | 23 | 4 | Cloudy |
| BRUSSELS | -4 | 23 | 1 | Clear |
| BIRMINGHAM | 13 | 55 | 28 | Clear |
| CHICAGO | 4 | 15 | 35 | Clear |
| COPENHAGEN | 2 | 26 | 4 | Cloudy |
| FRANKFURT | -12 | 10 | 1 | Cloudy |
| GENEVA | 1 | 20 | 2 | Clear |
| HELSINKI | -6 | 21 | 1 | Snow |
| HONG KONG | 15 | 28 | 20 | Clear |
| JERUSALEM | 17 | 33 | 25 | Clear |
| LONDON | 10 | 18 | 8 | Cloudy |
| MADRID | 1 | 20 | 3 | Clear |
| MONTREAL | -4 | 20 | 12 | Cloudy |
| NEW YORK | 3 | 41 | 10 | Clear |
| PARIS | 5 | 26 | 2 | Clear |
| PRAGUE | -3 | 21 | 1 | Cloudy |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 21 | 28 | 35 | Cloudy |
| SAO PAULO | 18 | 28 | 28 | Cloudy |
| STOCKHOLM | 0 | 22 | 2 | Cloudy |
| TOKYO | 8 | 15 | 15 | Cloudy |
| TORONTO | -4 | 19 | 12 | Clear |
| VIENNA | -1 | 13 | 3 | Clear |
| ZURICH | -2 | 28 | 0 | Cloudy |

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy. Rain in the evening in the North and centre of the country.
Outlook for Shabbat: Rain and colder.

| | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Min-Max |
|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Jerusalem | 71 | 14-20 | 18 |
| Golan | 47 | 10-19 | 17 |
| Nahariya | 42 | 12-22 | 30 |
| Safed | 52 | 10-16 | 15 |
| Haifa Port | 56 | -20 | 19 |
| Tiberias | 80 | 12-19 | 19 |
| Nazareth | 68 | 10-19 | 18 |
| Afula | 61 | 11-20 | 18 |
| Shomron | 55 | 14-24 | 13 |
| Tel Aviv | 42 | 12-25 | 13 |
| B-G Airport | 71 | 14-21 | 13 |
| Jericho | 42 | 16-24 | 13 |
| Gaza | 40 | 12-25 | 13 |
| Beersheba | 42 | 12-25 | 13 |
| Eilat | 42 | 12-25 | 13 |

Knesset panel misses Rights Day deadline

By ASHER WALLFISH

The Knesset Law Committee failed to complete its preparation of the draft Basic Law: Human Rights, to coincide with International Human Rights Day yesterday.

The committee, in its second day of marathon sessions through the morning and afternoon, skirted the controversial issues of religion and state, and decided to continue in two weeks' time, hopeful that behind-the-scenes consultations might narrow the gap.

The Alignment and the Likud seemed yesterday to be moving closer together on a formula to define Israel not as "the Jewish state" but rather as "the state of the Jewish people."

Some committee members believe that the freedom of worship issue may drive the Orthodox MKs on the Law Committee to take an opposition stance, against a majority made up of part of the Likud, the centre factions and the left.

Anne Pollard transferred

Anne Pollard, the convicted wife of spy Jonathan Pollard, has been transferred from prison to the Mayo clinic for two days of tests on her biliary tract. MK Gula Cohen reported yesterday. Cohen, who is in touch with Anne Pollard's father, said the move was made following pressure on Anne's behalf by a number of congressmen.

Obituary Notices accepted 24 hours a day

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HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Peres: INF deal won't stop flow of arms to Syria

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA — The superpowers' summit agreement on scrapping short- and medium-ranged nuclear missiles is unlikely to stop the Soviet Union from supplying Syria with arms, including rockets, Vice Premier Shimon Peres said here yesterday.

The Soviets have recently given additional weapons, planes and artillery, to the Syrians, he said.

Speaking to reporters during a tour of "confrontation-line" settlements in the North, Peres was asked if the treaty signed by U.S. President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev will keep Syria from receiving advanced SAM 22 and SAM 23 ground missiles.

"I wish it would, but I'm not sure," he replied.

During the past year, Syria has tried to shed its image of a country that aids terror, Peres said. But he insisted that Syria was partly responsible for the attack on a Nahal base near Kiryat Shmona two weeks ago. Peres replied that the first task was to explain to the world that Syria was not the "innocent lamb" it pretended to be.

Peres declared that he would continue to work tirelessly to promote the idea of an international peace conference on the Middle East as a prelude to direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab foes.

Peres met with settlement leaders and residents. All insisted that economic problems were a greater threat to continued Jewish settlement of the region than security problems.

Walter Ruby adds from Washington:

A senior Soviet spokesman said here yesterday that the Soviet Union considers the possibility of Israeli military action against Syria to be "very dangerous" and warned that any such action in retaliation for the recent PFLP plaid attack on Israel "could jeopardize the whole situation" in the Middle East.

The official, Yevgeny Primakov, director of the prestigious Institute of International Relations and World Economy, confirmed that the Soviet side raised the issue of an international conference on the Middle East in its discussions with U.S. representatives on regional conflicts, but said the U.S. "did not take the right position on the issue."

He said that restoration of Israeli-Soviet diplomatic ties could come about only if there is progress toward a peace settlement.

In the same press conference, Nikolai Shishlin, deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who participated in the Soviet group that discussed regional conflicts with the U.S. side, said that while Israeli-Syrian tensions "were not the point of our discussions," the American side raised the question of rising tensions in the wake of the terror attack. Primakov said, "If someone has in mind to strike Syria, it will jeopardize the whole (Middle East) situation."

"A clear declaration by the U.S. that it backs an international conference would help in (bringing about) positive developments in Israel as well."

Poland's explanation for linking Israel; neo-Nazis -- 'inadequate'

WARSAW (Reuters) — An Israeli diplomat said yesterday that Poland's explanation of an official statement linking Israeli policy and neo-Nazi trends in West Germany was inadequate.

Mordechai Palzur, Israel's most senior diplomat in Poland, said his government would be satisfied with nothing less than a full apology for the remarks.

The remarks were contained in a report by the Polish news agency Pap which said ceremonies marking the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw

Ghetto uprising would focus on "the current dangerous Revisionist and neo-Nazi trends in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany as well as possible consequences of Israel's policy of expansion."

Palzur said he had been privately told by Polish officials the statement was "unintentional... That whatever was published was not the intention of the Polish government."

Palzur added that if there were no apology or denial, Israel was unlikely to send a delegation to the ceremony.



Ariel Sharon's new apartment in the Old City overlooks a main shopping street. (M. Daniel/Media)

UN's forces in Golan endangered by mines

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON — Mines pose the biggest threat to UN peace-keeping forces in the Golan Heights. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has said in a new report.

Perez de Cuellar, in his report to the General Assembly on the work of the 1330-strong UN Disengagement Observer Force (Undof), stated that four Polish mine-clearing teams have been sweeping the area in the past few months, and have found and destroyed 11 anti-tank mines, four anti-personnel mines, 18 artillery shells, as well as several hand-grenades, small arms and small caches of ammunition.

Undof's mandate has just been extended for six months by the

Security Council, with the full consent of both Syria and Israel.

While noting the prevailing quiet in the Israeli-Syrian sector, Perez de Cuellar, in his report, described the Middle East situation as "potentially dangerous and likely to remain so."

JOSHUA BRILLIANT adds: UN Undersecretary-General Marrack Goulding yesterday met in Jerusalem with Prime Minister Shamir at Perez de Cuellar's request to discuss the convening of an international peace conference and Unifil.

Goulding asked for a stepped Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon. Shamir replied that Israel cannot rely for the security of its northern border on organizations which do not have a direct interest in maintaining peace there.

Father of Nahal guard sneaks into IDF base

Jerusalem Post Staff

Yitzhak Almog, the father of Danny, the camp guard accused of fleeing when an Arab terrorist entered a Nahal base in the north two weeks ago, last week illegally penetrated another army base in the

north, according to Israel Radio.

A report last night said that the father was later discovered and arrested but no charges were pressed against him. The elder Almog said that he wanted to prove that his son was not the only guard who was lax.

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of
BERNARD BERGER
Native of Jerusalem, resident of New York
who died in New York City on Wednesday, December 9.

Wife, Sofia Berger
Daughter, Dr. Toby Berger-Holtz
Son-in-law, Prof. Rabbi Abraham Holtz
Sisters, Rivka Yungau, Ramat Gan
Prina Cohn, Tel Aviv
Amalia Akabas, Tel Aviv
Grandchildren, Shalom Eliezer, Palzel Devora, Mordechai Yehiel, Miriam Malka

The unveiling of the tombstone for our beloved father, grandfather and great-grandfather

LOUIS ALPERT

will take place at 3 p.m. on Monday, December 14, 1987, at the Kfar Batya Cemetery, Ra'anana.

Greenman-Alpert Family

We mourn our beloved

ILSE RADDAY

Her Family
Radday, Warburg, Lasch, Ben-Shaul Families

Shiva at Ben-Shaul's, Jerusalem.

We extend deepest sympathy to

Hanna Lasch and Family on the passing of her dear mother

ILSE RADDAY ז"ל

The funeral will take place at Kibbutz Sdot Yam today, Friday, December 11, 1987, at 11 a.m.

Sdot Yam

PLP's Miari admits to 'timely' Cairo visit

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Progressive List for Peace MK Mohammed Miari has publicly admitted that he was in Cairo last week, where he visited the PLO's Al-Hilal Hospital which is run by PLO chief Yasser Arafat's brother, and also met with senior Egyptian officials.

But Miari, in an interview published in this morning's *As-Sinara* newspaper, which comes out on Fridays in Nazareth, refused to comment on reports that he had attended ceremonies, which included the raising of the PLO flag, to mark the formal reopening of the PLO offices in Cairo.

These reports are expected to generate criticism from right-wing Knesset members who oppose contacts with the PLO.

The newspaper's publisher, Lutfi Mashour, said that Miari's visit to Egypt was not a surprise. "It is an open step and a big one, taken precisely at the moment of the reopening of the PLO offices in Cairo."

Leaders in both Rakah and the PLP have long avoided public visits to Egypt, because they would be

viewed as tacit approval of the Camp David accords.

But the PLP, because of its close identification with PLO policy, has gradually become less wary of ties with Cairo. "Arafat, despite all, has maintained excellent ties with Egypt's leadership," Mashour said.

The visit also can be seen as pre-election attempt by the PLP to identify itself closely with the PLO, with an eye to garnering Arab votes, the publisher added. PLO support is all the more crucial for the PLP because of recent losses of supporters, who in any case are relatively few in number.

The PLP has long expressed unequivocal support for the PLO leadership, in contrast with Rakah's more cautious declarations. Nevertheless, the PLO has placed much emphasis recently on cultivating ties with the Rakah leadership.

As part of that trend, Arafat recently met Rakah MKs Meir Wilner and Tawfik Toubi in Moscow.

"The PLO has decided it has to appeal to the Jewish people. It is looking for Zionists. And they see Rakah as more a part of the Zionist establishment," Mashour said.

Kafr Kasim man jailed for life for murder of soldier

JERUSALEM (Itim) — A military court in Nablus yesterday sentenced an Israeli Arab to life imprisonment for the April, 1985 murder of an IDF soldier.

Ahmed Abu-Jibaber, 28, from Kafr Kasim, and two other men, picked up Akiva Shaltiel, a soldier who was hitchhiking, at Tsomet Kfar Avraham near Petah Tikva.

As they passed the turnoff to Rosh Ha'ayon, Shaltiel asked to be allowed to get out of the car, but his abductors pointed a pistol at him. East of the town, they tied him up and choked him to death, covering his body with stones.

Two of the three judges called for the death penalty. However, the

third judge called for life in prison on the grounds that Abu-Jibaber's two accomplices had previously received life sentences. The law states that a death sentence can only be handed down when the judges' decision is unanimous.

The three convicted men are also linked to the murder of a terrorist collaborator as well as an incident in which they wounded the driver of an Israeli bus.

CORRECTION

The author of the article on page seven on the INF accord is Dr. Dore Gold and not Dave Gold as erroneously printed.

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our beloved

CHARLOTTE STEIN ז"ל

the founder of the "Charlotte" Shop, there will be a graveside memorial service, and unveiling of the tombstone on Sunday, December 13, 1987.

We shall leave from the main gate of Har Hamenuhot Cemetery, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem, at 1:30 p.m.

"Charlotte" Shop

On the third anniversary of the death of our beloved

RUTH FRENKEL ז"ל

there will be a memorial meeting on Saturday evening, December 12, 1987, at 7 p.m. at Beit Ruth, Learning Disabilities Centre, 3 Ayalon St., Ahuza, and a memorial service at the grave on Sunday, December 13, 1987, at 12 noon, at the Old Haifa Cemetery. Shall meet at the cemetery entrance.

The Family

With deep sorrow, we announce the death of our beloved mother, mother-in-law, grandmother and great-grandmother

FEIGLE BERKENBLIT

The funeral will take place today, Friday morning, December 11, 1987, at 10 a.m.

Dvora Hartzook, daughter and families
Yechiel Barkan, son and families

We announce the passing of our beloved mother, wife and sister

SHULAMITH KLAUSNER

A real Eliezer Hayil in Israel

The funeral will take place today, Friday, December 11, 1987, at the Sanhedria Funeral Parlor, at 10:45 a.m. sharp. Burial on the Mount of Olives.

Son: Rabbi Joseph C. Klausner
Husband: Rev. Joseph Skafetzky
Sister: Mrs. Rebecca Z. Sherman

Shiva at the Skafetzky home, 6 Leib-Yaffe, Talpiot, Jerusalem.

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Neri Bloomfield

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our beloved

MONTY (Moshe) RADBERG ז"ל

we shall unveil the tombstone on Tuesday, December 15, 1987 at 3 p.m. at the Har Tamir cemetery (before Har Hamenuhot), Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

Dora Radberg and Family

To Moshe Koolik and Family

Deepest sympathy on the death of your

Mother ז"ל

Your Friends and Colleagues

We mourn the sudden passing of

JAAKOV LIOR ז"ל

member of the Carmel Forge Board of Directors

who contributed so much to the development and prosperity of the company.

We share the grief of the family at their — and our — great loss.

Board of Directors, Carmel Forge Ltd.

Bonn wants short-range nuclear missile ban

BONN (Reuters) — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, taking a stand apparently at odds with Bonn's NATO partners, said yesterday that short-range nuclear missiles should be included in East-West disarmament talks.

The West German leader outlined Bonn's arms control priorities in a parliamentary debate on arms control following the U.S.-Soviet treaty signed in Washington on Tuesday to ban intermediate nuclear forces (INF).

Kohl said he expected the INF accord to be followed by talks on cutting strategic nuclear weapons by 50 per cent, banning chemical arms, a stable East-West balance in conventional forces and a significant cutback in short-range nuclear missiles. But he also said a combination of nuclear and conventional deterrence was needed to ensure Western, especially West European, security for the foreseeable future.

West Germany's NATO allies, particularly Britain and the U.S. want sweeping cutbacks in Soviet conven-

tional forces before starting separate talks on the superpowers' short-range missiles.

In Brussels today, NATO is to give a warm reception to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz after Tuesday's superpower arms deal and hoped to allay doubts in the U.S. senate over Europe's enthusiasm for the treaty.

But a major celebration by the Atlantic alliance could be marred if West Germany pressed its allies too hard on the issue of cuts in short-range nuclear missiles, officials said. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told parliament the categories of disarmament listed by Kohl were equally urgent to West Germany. But Genscher, a liberal Free Democrat, hinting there were differences in the coalition government, said an overall Western arms strategy "should not prevent us from taking steps that are already possible today."

A senior NATO official said in Brussels the allies would "warmly

and elaborately" endorse the signing of the INF treaty. The Western alliance has officially embraced the INF treaty as a "true milestone" for arms control after earlier expressing misgivings which it now fears could rebound on U.S. senate ratification.

Anxious to dispel the impression of lingering European unease over the treaty, NATO secretary-general Lord Carrington said yesterday the 1979 NATO deployment decision had now come to "triumphant fruition."

"The Europeans believe here that the Americans must not misunderstand European attitudes. The European governments are all in favour of the agreement," Carrington said at a news conference ahead of the Shultz visit.

Most mainstream NATO members, notably the U.S. and Britain, want drastic cuts in Soviet conventional forces before any separate negotiations on cutting short-range nuclear missiles are undertaken. But West Germany, which as NATO's front-line state feels especially vulnerable to East bloc short-range missiles, has

publicly urged NATO to link any talks on conventional arms to negotiations to cut these missiles.

One certain bright spot for West Germany, however, is that its defence minister, Manfred Woerner, will be formally appointed to succeed Carrington as alliance secretary-general, officials say.

Woerner became sure of being appointed after the only other candidate, former Norwegian prime minister Kaare Willoch, withdrew on November 30. Woerner will take over next June.

With Warsaw pact leaders meeting in East Berlin on Friday, when Gorbachev returns from the Washington summit, officials here say a new East bloc arms initiative is possible.

One European diplomat said, "There's bound to be conflict between Bonn and London and Washington on these issues. For everyone else, this is a chess game. But Bonn is on the front line. The Germans are terrified."



The Norman Atlantic on fire in the Gulf before it sank yesterday.

(AFP)

Iranian gunboats sink Singapore tanker in Gulf

DUBAI (Reuters) — Torn apart in an exploding inferno, the 85,000-ton Singapore-registered oil tanker Norman Atlantic plunged beneath the waves yesterday after being hit by Iranian gunboats on Sunday.

Shipping sources also reported yesterday that Iraqi jets set on fire an Iranian tanker, the 218,467-tonne Susangir.

Just outside the Gulf, the tugboat crews, forced to abandon attempts to save the Norman Atlantic, watched from afar as it sank in a shroud of flames and smoke through 105 metres of water 12 miles off the coast of Oman, the sources said.

The 15-year-old ship, valued at nearly \$21 million with its cargo,

would not be a pollution or navigation hazard.

"Most of the naptha burned away over the four days and the ship is in water deep enough so that any ship, even a supertanker, could easily pass over it," one source said.

The tanker, hit by Iran on Sunday in retaliation for Iraqi attacks against two Iranian ships, was the first such vessel to be sunk since the "tanker war" spawned by the Iran-Iraq ground conflict began early in 1984.

The ship sank a day after a new convoy of American warships and reflagged Kuwait tankers passed it en route to Kuwait at the head of the Gulf. The convoy comprised two re-

flagged Kuwaiti tankers, two U.S. frigates and a navy oiler seeking fuel for American warships stationed outside the Gulf.

It was the 20th American convoy to enter the Gulf since the U.S. began protecting Kuwaiti-owned tankers in July.

Iran has not attacked any vessel under the protection of a warship so U.S. convoys — and those of British, French, Italian and Soviet-protected ships — have become routine.

As the Norman Atlantic sank, Iraq announced its warplanes had hit a large naval target off the Iranian coast at 10.30 a.m., 12 hours after the attack on the fully laden Susangir.



David Burke, suspected of causing a plane crash.

Murder-suicide motive probed in U.S. airliner crash

SAN LUIS OBISPO, California (Reuters) — Agents probing reports that a gunman on a murder-suicide mission caused a plane to crash in California have found a gun and evidence someone entered the cockpit before it went down.

Senior Federal Bureau of Investigation agent Richard Bretzing said the FBI had not yet determined who entered the cockpit, but published reports have said that David Burke, 35, a passenger and former airline employee, sneaked a gun aboard with the intent of shooting super-

viser Ray Thomson.

Thomson fired Burke last month after Burke was accused of stealing receipts from in-flight cocktail sales.

Bretzing said a voice recorder revealed that an unauthorized person had entered the cockpit of the Pacific Southwest Airlines jet on Monday before it crashed with the loss of all 43 passengers and crew on board.

Bretzing told reporters that discovery of the recording increased suspicions that a crime occurred on the British-made BAe 146 before it crashed in the Santa Lucia Moun-

tains near here.

"That weapon is going to be examined and, of course, any connection between it and the crime that we suspect occurred on this aircraft will be more fully developed," he said.

The pilot of a small plane has said he heard the doomed aircraft's cockpit crew issuing an emergency call and telling ground controllers there had been a gunshot on the plane, which disappeared midway on a flight between Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Senate nixes F-15E to Saudis

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The Senate on Wednesday passed by voice vote legislation to bar Saudi Arabia from receiving the most sophisticated U.S. fighter plane, the F-15E.

The legislation, similar to another bill passed in the House earlier, was a result of a deal worked out by congressional critics opposed to the proposed F-15E jet sales.

Under the Senate measure, which would have to be approved by the House, Saudi Arabia would be limited to no more than 60 of the older, less sophisticated models of the F-15 fighter plane.

The Reagan administration had earlier announced plans to sell the Saudis 12 F-15Es worth about \$500 million, but congressional supporters of Israel raised objections that the planes should not be sold because it could increase the Saudis' ground attack capability.

Chinese peasants make a killing with tiger penises

PEKING (Reuters) — Peasants in the East China province of Zhejiang made more than 100,000 yuan (\$27,000) from selling fake tiger penises, feet and other organs, *The Farmers Daily* said yesterday.

It said the peasants used the heart, feet, penis, skin and kidneys of cows and pigs to produce the fake, which they sold to more than 200,000 people in 20 provinces and

cities to treat rheumatism, stomach-ache, dizziness and other ailments. The health of the buyers was seriously affected, the paper said but gave no details.

It said two of those responsible for the racket had been imprisoned and one had been fined. *The Farmers Daily* criticized the party and government bodies involved for not being strict enough in its supervision.

Haiti announces new elections

PORT-AU-PRINCE (Reuters) — New presidential elections in Haiti will be held next January 17, the country's military-led government announced on Wednesday night.

The announcement by the three-man government headed by Lieutenant General Henri Namphy said the government would shortly name a new provisional electoral council (CEP) to organize the new elections. Diplomats here said the fact that the military would effectively be organizing new elections on its own terms was likely to cause widespread rejection of the new poll.

The country's first presidential elections in 30 years were held on November 29, but polling booth massacres by right-wing gunmen, acting with the apparent consent of troops who did not intervene, caused a suspension of balloting.

After the election-day violence, Namphy sacked the sitting CEP.



A woman shelters from the rain under a jacket in a store after a general strike ended in Port au Prince on Wednesday.

Moscow paper raps treatment of soldiers wounded in Afghanistan

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Soviet society should devote more care and attention to Soviet soldiers wounded and disabled during the eight-year-old conflict in Afghanistan, the *Moscow News* said yesterday.

An article by Viktor Tunhatov drew attention to the plight of disabled Afghan veterans, many of whom have lost arms or legs. It said they were usually left out of television accounts of heroism at the front.

"What about those who have lost their health in Afghanistan, received their well-deserved medals and who have a tough future as a disabled person cut out for them. How much do we know about them?" Tunhatov wrote.

He described conditions at a medical rehabilitation centre in Sakl in Crimea, "built in the early 1980s, when few people thought our presence in Afghanistan was to last." A

new wing had been added.

The centre's chief, captain Mikhail Babich, was quoted as complaining about the lack of up-to-date equipment. "As I look at the most sophisticated artificial limbs in modern medical journals, I wonder why our boys have to put up with worse," the captain said.

Tunhatov said it appeared little progress had been made in this regard since World War II.

"Will the new wave (of war-wounded) forgive our formal condolences and aid going together with antiquated crutches, wheelchairs and prostheses?" he asked.

The Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan has said Soviet military involvement there is decreasing, with no Soviet troops in 13 of the country's 29 provinces.

But one amputee, commando platoon leader Igor Ovsyannikov, whose stumps were described as bleeding when he removed his arti-

ficial legs after a test walk, doubted that peace in Afghanistan was near.

"Honestly, I don't know. They are showing dushmans (Moslem rebels) on TV laying down arms, but the number of heavily wounded is not decreasing," the article quoted him as saying.

Western diplomats in the Afghan capital, Kabul, told visiting journalists last month that they estimated Soviet dead and wounded at about 50 a day. There were still about 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

The *Moscow News* article criticized bureaucratic red tape over veterans' pension rights. "Without a leg, I'm not very good at running bureaucratic races," it quoted one patient as saying.

It also drew attention to difficulties in finding jobs and a general lack of support. Most people seemed indifferent to the problems of disabled veterans, it said.

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THE SUPERPOWER SUMMIT

The issues and the men at the Big Two summit --- a summing up by Post correspondents

Soviets likely to disband anti-Zionist committee

Walter Ruby

WASHINGTON - The vice-chairman of the Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee hinted here this week that the Anti-Zionist Committee will soon be disbanded.

In comments to *The Jerusalem Post*, the Soviet official, Samwil Ziv, said that he will not officially confirm the dissolution of the group, but remarked, "Anything can happen. We cannot have structures forever in a dynamic society and under dynamic conditions."

Ziv's remarks seemed to confirm the thrust of a report in *The New York Times* that the Soviet government plans soon to disband the Anti-Zionist Committee, which has long been an irritant in U.S.-Soviet and Israeli-Soviet relations. According to the *Times* report, the Anti-Zionist Committee will be absorbed into a committee that will focus on a broad range of human rights issues.

Ziv denied the Anti-Zionist Committee had been anti-Semitic, noting that it had "a clear position on the right of Israel to exist within safe boundaries." He blamed last Sunday's attack by Moscow security officials on Jewish demonstrators on an alleged attempt by the Jewish group "to break through the lines of a demonstration by a (Soviet) peace group."

However, Igor Bykov, chairman of the prestigious Soviet Institute of World Economy and International Relations told this reporter that "under the circumstances," the action of the security officials was not the best way to deal with the Jewish demonstration. He said he was convinced that the decision to break it up had been made by police officials, and not at a high government level. He added, "I don't think it was KGB, but rather, an ordinary police action at a low level."

Bykov indicated approval of the apparent decision to disband the Anti-Zionist Committee, saying "I don't think Anti-Zionism is a good name for such a committee. Zionism is perceived differently abroad than in the Soviet Union."

Declaring that he is opposed 100 per cent to anti-Semitism, Bykov said of the grass-roots movement *Pamyat* (Memory), "While I would not term *Pamyat* anti-Semitic, some of what they say smacks of the old approach and could be construed as anti-Semitism." He said he is confident the government will not allow open expressions of anti-Semitism "beyond certain limits."

Optimism in Europe, but with a touch of anger

David Horovitz

LONDON - He saw her waiting at the foot of the aircraft stairs, grinning, and gave a thumbs up. She smiled broadly up at him and spread her arms out wide in welcome.

Clearly, Margaret Thatcher has established with Mikhail Gorbachev another of her "special relationships," a deep personal rapport to match that she has with Shimon Peres and King Hussein. Clearly, too, she had no reservations about the intermediate nuclear forces (INF) treaty he was en route to Washington to sign. Gorbachev praised Thatcher's role in concluding the deal, and she declared that she would "share their sense of achievement."

Elsewhere in Europe, the agreement was hailed. West Germany's Chancellor Kohl described the signing as a "historic hour," while France's President Mitterrand hoped it would eventuate in the halting of the arms race in space.

Today, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is due in Brussels to sign an agreement with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz which will provide for the implementation of the INF deal here; next week he signs a similar document with the Russians. These agreements will give the Soviets the formal right to station inspectors at Britain's Greenham Common and Molesworth nuclear bases, to insure that the Americans remove their cruise missiles, launchers and shelters as specified.

The 16 Molesworth missiles will be among the first to go, while Greenham Common's 96 will be removed 16 at a time over the three-

year elimination period. The Greenham Common protesters aren't moving out yet, but TV reporters were greeted there with rare smiles this week, and leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament celebrated the INF signing with an impromptu champagne party.

THATCHER AND Gorbachev might have seen eye-to-eye on this treaty, but it was evident even during his brief stopover here that they differ widely on the best ways forward.

All sides, it appears, are hoping that this relatively small arms reduction treaty will eventually lead to another, cutting superpower strategic arsenals by 50 per cent. But where Gorbachev eventually envisages "a better world, a non-nuclear world," Thatcher believes this to be naive or disingenuous.

"You can't disinvent nuclear weapons," she said. If all nuclear arms were destroyed and conventional war broke out, there would then be a rush to "rediscover" nuclear arms, she argued, telling reporters that she had presented this scenario to Gorbachev, and that she was by no means certain he had ever considered a non-nuclear world in that way before.

As far as western Europe is concerned, further nuclear reductions are anathema until a more realistic balance of conventional forces is attained. Germany, in particular, will not sanction the removal of its bat-

tle field nuclear arms in the foreseeable future, and Thatcher stressed in the House of Commons on Tuesday that Britain's nuclear deterrent will remain and will be kept up-to-date.

Although France and Germany broadly share Thatcher's view on the INF treaty and its optimal consequences, their leaders are said to be fuming over Gorbachev's apparent endorsement of her as Europe's senior politician.

It was suggested before Gorbachev's 100-minute visit to RAF Brize Norton last Monday that Thatcher had invited him because President Reagan had refused to meet her before the summit to coordinate views, and she wanted to make her opinions known to at least one of the superpower leaders.

But the idea of a Reagan snub has now gone by the board. Instead, it is believed that Thatcher invited Gorbachev because she wanted to resume their marathon conversations of last March in Moscow, when scheduled brief talks were extended to an unprecedented 11-hour session.

Certainly, their ideological differences remain profound, and Thatcher is still waiting for more proof of human rights reforms in the shape of eased emigration restrictions. But Britain, and by extension western Europe, patiently share American optimism over Gorbachev's latest foray to the West.

East-West confidence is gradually being built up, and, as Thatcher said on the chilly tarmac at Brize Norton: "The difficulties are immense, but the opportunities are even greater."



Caution behind the American euphoria

Wolf Blitzer

Secretary of State George Shultz. "The best approach to dealing with one another is one Ben Franklin might have suggested. Be down-to-earth, pragmatic, and business-like in seeking to solve concrete problems."

Some hardliners seemed much more nervous as they observed the love affair between Gorbachev and Reagan unfold. A former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union and Israel, Malcolm Toon, warned that Reagan had no business spending so much time alone in one-to-one sessions with the Soviet leader. "Normally," Toon said, "I speak subjectively, as a former professional. And most professionals, of course, feel that they ought to be in on these talks to be sure that mistakes are not

made by principals. "Now I hate to be disrespectful of the president, but I think it's important for us to understand that these issues are terribly complex. And frankly, the president has not shown a great willingness or an ability to do the necessary homework on these issues, which would give me the sort of confidence I think I should have as a concerned American citizen."

Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger also urged caution. "There have been since 1947 - that's 40 years now - tensions with the Soviet Union, with a succession of Soviet leaders, each of whom was described as different when he came in. There are, therefore, real reasons for these tensions. And we shouldn't kid ourselves that any new

Soviet leader, no matter how charming he is, can by himself, by personality alone, reverse this process. It isn't a quarrel between leaders. There are some underlying causes. Those have to be settled. If they are settled we can really make some historic progress."

STILL, the general message of the summit was positive. Those issues where serious differences of opinion between the superpowers exist - such as Soviet Jewish emigration - were mostly kept low-key. And when they were raised publicly, by senators or journalists, Gorbachev and his battery of advisers were prepared to go on the offensive.

Senator Dole, for example, pointed out that Gorbachev had "lectured" the group of congressmen about human rights "and about how we restrict by quota who can come to this country." He said Gorbachev "felt rather strongly" about what the Soviet leader regarded as a double standard - namely, that the U.S. is prepared to accept all Soviet immigrants but is not prepared to welcome Mexicans.

"I think he also feels that we spend a lot of time on emigration because of politics - domestic politics - and that their record is extremely good," Dole added, recalling that there had been an effort a few years ago to ease the trade restrictions on the Soviet Union included in the Jackson-Vanik amendment. "But we didn't get any signals from the Soviet Union that that would improve emigration policy."

What was clear throughout the summit was that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have different concepts of human rights. The Soviets stress economic rights, such as employment and shelter, while the U.S. focuses on basic freedoms, including the right to emigrate. "They have their ideas," said Senator Byrd. "We have ours."

Soviet press spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, when asked about Soviet Jewish emigration at a press conference on Wednesday, totally dismissed suggestions that 400,000 Soviet Jews have already indicated a desire to leave. "This is incorrect," he said. "Actually, the majority of those who wanted to leave left in the 1970s."

Gerasimov, whose deft handling of the huge press corps was, by all accounts, rather impressive, said the Soviet Union was now permitting 1,000 Jews a month to leave. (A total of 910 actually emigrated in November.) But he suggested that it was going to be difficult to find more Jews who want to leave, adding sarcastically: "And we cannot really encourage people to file these applications to leave just to please some people here."

It is far too early to assess the eventual impact of the summit's outcome but what is clear is that Gorbachev and his team are tough and savvy. It was impressive and instructive watching them in action this week.

WASHINGTON - There can be no doubt that Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded in dazzling almost everyone he met in Washington this week. He projected intelligence, warmth, sincerity and humor - always at the appropriate moments.

Perhaps more than anyone else, President Ronald Reagan himself set the tone by projecting grandiose expectations. He spoke of his "historic" meeting with Gorbachev. "We find ourselves involved in a dramatic march of events that has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world," he said.

"I think he [Gorbachev] is alert and animated and well-versed in his message," commented Bob Dole, Republican senator of Kansas and Senate minority leader. "I think we had the sense that this was a Soviet official who wants to have candid discussions," added Washington State Democratic Representative Thomas Foley who was also at the meeting.

Democratic Speaker Jim Wright of Texas said Gorbachev had responded to every question "with extremely good humor, with understanding and with a desire to understand what we were saying." Majority leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia was "very impressed with this man. I think he can hold his own in any debating forum...I think he has visions for his country as we have for ours."

The consensus among politicians and commentators was that Gorbachev represents something new and positive in the Kremlin's leadership. "Without minimizing the great political and ideological distances between us," said Gorbachev, "we want to seek and find avenues of rapprochement in areas where this is of vital importance for our two countries and for all humankind," he said.

"The whole world is interested in seeing that happen. We can see how high the mountains of arms we have amassed are. And we're sitting atop of that all...We should try to move towards each other."

THE ATMOSPHERE of this third Reagan-Gorbachev summit was upbeat, especially in the aftermath of Tuesday's signing ceremony of a treaty reducing the size of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. "The world has relatively few opportunities for such salutary celebration," wrote television critic Tom Shales in *The Washington Post*. "Who could be blamed for not wanting to hear any discouraging words?"

Indeed, there was an almost palpable sense that an historic watershed was occurring - one that would once and for all put the Cold War in the past. At last, common sense had prevailed over suspicion.

But a few experienced voices urged caution. "We must be realistic, avoiding extremes either of hostility or euphoria through the ups and downs of our relations," said



Dan Meridor



Emile Habibi

Two viewpoints

Dvorah Getzler

ing firmly that, "if we are strong and determined, if we don't invite pressure, then there will be no problem."

According to Meridor it is too early yet to speculate on how the agreement may affect the Arab states. But he did not foresee any reduction in U.S. weapons support for Israel.

It was the Soviets who broke relations with Israel, and it was up to them to mend them.

Israel, he said, would welcome a renewal of ties with the Soviets, but only if that was accompanied by a change of heart towards Israel and the Middle East conflict.

FORMER RAKAH MK and *Al-Itihaad* editor Emile Habibi told *The Post* yesterday that the summit marks a radical shift in the world political situation which is bound to

lead to far-reaching changes that will affect the Gulf War and the Israel-Arab conflict alike. But Habibi sounded a note of caution: "We must not be naive. Such an accord is always vulnerable, and it certainly has its opponents both in the U.S. and here in Israel. Those people endanger progress towards peace. Indeed, such progress depends largely on the extent to which this summit agreement is maintained and built upon further."


Local Arab reaction to the summit is "enthusiastic. People are overwhelmingly happy, joyful, filled with a new sense of optimism," Habibi said, adding that his information was that "the PLO gives it its unreserved backing."

The cold war, he said, had "brought misery to the region and catastrophe to the Palestinians. Any increase in detente can only improve matters all round."

On Foreign Minister Peres's peace initiative, Habibi commented: "He is certainly far more open-minded than his government colleagues. But he needs to go further, to show more daring in his pursuit of peace."

The Russians, he maintained, have bent over backwards to make conciliatory gestures to Israel. "I only wish that Israel would appreciate this and make the correct response."

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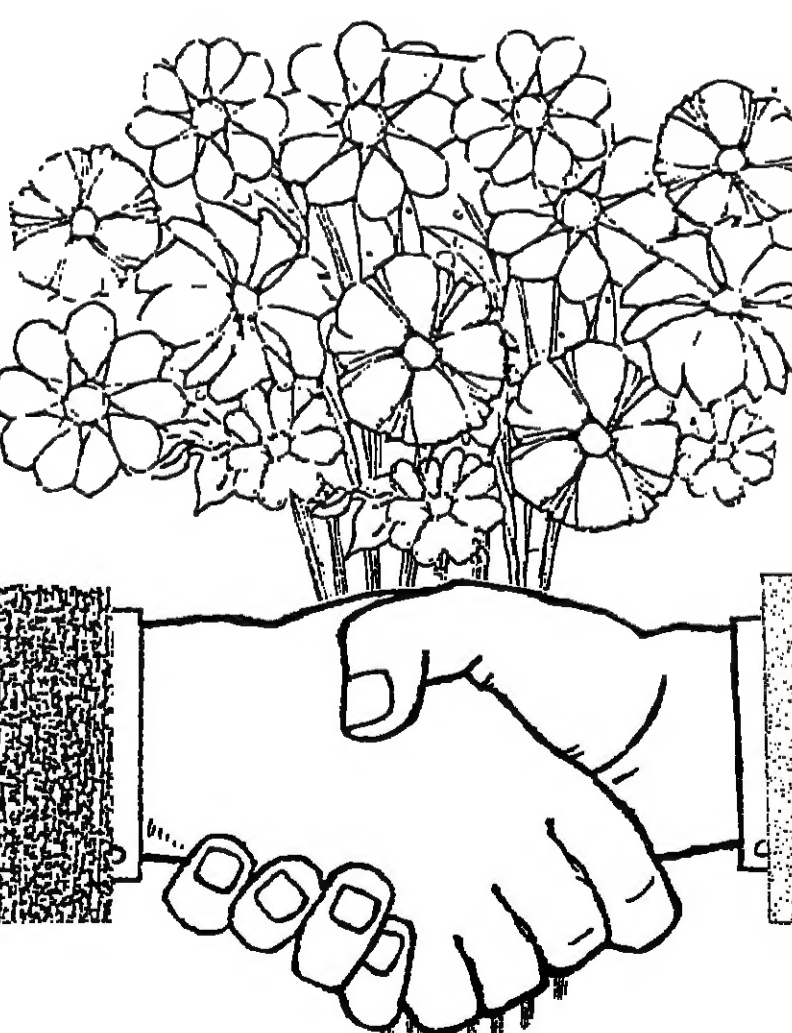
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Youths throw rocks outside the Shifa hospital in Gaza on Wednesday

'Inside Gaza, the place is pure terror'

Bradley Burston visits Netivot, a development town nine minutes east of Gaza

TOSSING a tyre iron from one huge hand to another, Netivot tyre dealer David Tuito sits idly beside a stack of inner tubes and wonders aloud about his competition. These are the gypsy garages nine minutes due west, past the domed tomb of the Jewish holyman Baba Sali and over the trench and beyond the barriers of concrete and fear that separate Gaza from this little development town.

"Of course, nobody here will admit they go to Gaza, but they go, all the time. Not like before the killings. But some people still make the trip. To save some money on a muffler or a bag of fish. What's a life worth, anyway? Ten shekels? Fifteen?"

Tuito points to a restaurant once owned by a neighbour who bought all his produce in Gaza. Two years ago he was murdered in the open market that borders the Arab city's Palestine Square.

"No one in this country knows what goes on there the way we do. Not just because of the attack this week, but because of three others, all of them on people from right here who went over there for an hour or two and never came back."

It is early morning in Netivot, market day, when a vacant lot in the centre of town fills with stalls of produce and toys, religious items and racks of women's clothing.

In an hour or so, Massoud Shushani, 64, will take up his plastic shopping basket and set out across town. Though Shushani has lived in Netivot for decades, it is only in the last six months that he has done his shopping here. What convinced him to stop shopping in Gaza, he says quietly, was a knife in the back.

Once each week for 20 years, he had hauled the worn shopping bags to the sprawling bazaar bordering Palestine Square. Cab drivers and shopkeepers knew him there, respected him, and appreciated his company as well as his business.

And Shushani liked them as well. But he has not seen any of them since a stifling Sunday last May, when it was a shopkeeper and a cab driver who helped him to hospital after a terrorist slashed a dagger across his left shoulder.

"Before I was stabbed, whenever I heard about troubles in Gaza, riots, rock-throwing, I wasn't afraid. I went anyway, every week. Now I'm terrified. Now each time I hear about trouble I ask myself how and why I ever put myself into that hornet's nest."

"I went to Gaza that day because I wanted to buy a surprise for my wife, a long silk dress to wear for weddings. I stood in the doorway of the store, and I felt a blow on my back. The doctors said if the knife had been a few centimetres to the

side, I would have died right there. "I still have nightmares about it all the time, not just after something like the incident this week," he says, alluding to the fatal stabbing Sunday of Israeli salesman Shlomo Sakai just metres from where Shushani himself was attacked.

"Would I go back there now? Heaven forbid. It was enough for me to look death in the face one time. Other people in Netivot may go there, but not me."

Shushani, a father of 11, pauses for a moment. "And even if I did want to go back there," he concludes, "my children would never let me."

Even for locals still willing to brave the passage to Gaza, the three neighbours buried in as many years have brought about a measure of behaviour modification. Handguns, mace sprays and even bulletproof vests are packed for the trip, and the route itself has in many cases been changed for safety's sake.

"I used to buy all my produce there," relates grocer Moshe Ben-David, a relative of one of the victims, "but now I just go there to fix the car. I don't go 'inside' (into central Gaza or its refugee camps) any more. I use only garages located

near the checkpoints. "Why do I go? If I go to mechanics here, they tell me they've got no time to fix my car. I don't have time to wait for them, so I go to Gaza."

When friends warn Ben-David, a resident of nearby Moshav Tidar, against crossing into the strip, he replies, "Don't worry, sweetie, I don't go 'inside' any more. Inside, the place is pure terror."

Says Moshav Tidar of Moshav Shuva, located practically walking distance from the strip, "We used to buy everything there — food, auto parts, clothes, everything. But about two years ago, with the tragedies from the terror, most of us stopped."

Despite the pleas of fellow moshavniks, one of her neighbours however still goes inside on a regular basis. "He says, 'Nothing's going to happen to me.' We tell him, 'Look, if you're so anxious to die, you should die in your own house. That way, at least you can die without all the fear.'"

The fear, maintains veteran Netivot health inspector Gideon Mordechai, has never been worse than in recent months.

"I've lived in Netivot 32 years,

since the day it was founded, and I don't remember a time when it was this bad. I worked for years as an ambulance driver, from Sdom to Bet Shemesh in the days when there were terrorists infiltrating all the time. We used to meet them along the way. And without military escort or anything. And we didn't have the fear or anything like what you see today."

Mordechai gave up going to Gaza in 1982 when the car he was driving in the city's centre was trapped and stoned by several hundred youths.

"If you ask me," he says, "they ought to give it back, all of it, build a 17-metre-high fence around the entire strip and get out. And most people around here agree with me, even some of the Likud people."

"They know that Gaza is ruining us. Not only the terror. Where do you think the drugs come from? Where do you think the unemployment comes from? A man sweats 15, 20 years to raise a good, observant, hardworking son, and as soon as the boy finishes the army, he comes back to find that all the jobs are taken by Arabs from Gaza."

Though many if not most Netivot residents may have reservations

about withdrawing from Gaza, rare is the local who does not express a desire to somehow withdraw from the Arabs there.

"We can't go near Gaza without getting killed, but the Arabs from there walk around Netivot like they own the place," says 22-year-old Haim Suissa, unemployed since finishing his IDF service last year.

"You'll see them at two in the morning, walking around, looking at girls. And some of the factories like the Gilit cookie plant don't hire anyone else."

Back at the tyre store, David Tuito watches a neighbour drive by with a new set of Alliance tyres on his pick-up truck.

"He didn't want to look me in the eye, because I happen to know that he went to Gaza to save a few shekels on goods made in Israel."

Tuito is among the first to agree that Gaza is everything people call it: a snake pit, a hornet's nest, a smouldering holding pen for juvenile terrorists and a hypocritical, exploitative upper class of elderly cheats.

In the next breath, however, Tuito will tell you that he is eager to go again.

"There was a time a few years ago when if I didn't go to Gaza every day, I wouldn't feel good. You can get anything there you could possi-

bly want, everything in the world, and for half as much as here."

According to Tuito, he and most everyone else here would go to Gaza tomorrow if the threat of terror were lifted. "As it is, though, the terrorists are winning there. They know that if Israelis are scared to go near there, it's going to be just like Lebanon. We're going to pack up and leave one of these days."

"We know it, too. That's why when (OC Southern Command) Yitzhak Mordechai goes to Gaza after a Jew is butchered, the first thing he says is, 'Jews shouldn't be afraid to come to Gaza.'"

Despite the fear and the forewarnings, despite banner headlines of rioting and stonings, Gaza police say that scores of Israelis are still likely to tour the strip this weekend, many to vacation at a new seaside resort built by settlers at Gush Katif.

The phenomenon of Tel Avivians swarming to central Gaza to eat Saturday lunch and to shop is the most dangerous of all, Mordechai asserts.

"If I had my way," he says, "a big sign would go up at Erez (the strip's gateway on the Tel Aviv highway) reading 'Entrance to Jews Forbidden.' Then they'd know what they were getting into. If it's worth it to them to get a knife under the ear, at least they'd have been warned."

LIKE ACTORS with assigned roles, the Energy Ministry and the debt-ridden Jerusalem District Electricity Company are playing out the denouement of a melodrama whose script they know cannot be altered.

With the Arab-owned company's 60-year concession running out on December 31, the Energy Ministry is taking charge of electricity supply to Jewish clients served until now by the JDEC.

The first step was taken this week, when Jewish neighbourhoods across the Green Line were linked to the Israeli power grid. Soon the settlements will be connected, completing the realization of an aim long desired by the ministry: power supply to Jewish areas and army bases in the central West Bank safely in Israeli hands.

The JDEC management lacks any alternative. Thus despite its vociferous protests and pledges of non-cooperation, it is apparently allowing itself to be forced into the new arrangement.

Whatever it does, it cannot win. If it refuses to supply power to Arab areas under the new concession terms, its entire concession area will be taken over by the Israel Electric Corporation. By hanging on to what remains of its concession, it exposes itself to charges of cooperating with the Israeli-imposed arrangement. In this context even the Palestinian nationalist option of *sumud* (steadfastness) looks like collaboration: preserving what is considered a Palestinian "national institution" means effective cooperation with Israel.

What is striking about the company's situation is the resignation both within the firm and in the Palestinian street. The resignation stands in sharp contrast to the emotions stirred by previous Israeli attempts to take over the firm. There appears to be a pragmatic acceptance that the Israeli moves have to be lived with.

This pragmatism, or despair, seems characteristic of the current mood of the Palestinians about their political predicament, which in many ways parallels that of the JDEC. Nationalist ideology has worn thin, failing to supply answers to harsh realities.

Despite their vows to fight the reduction of the company's concession, JDEC workers failed to take any measures to stop the Israeli power takeover Sunday night. They did not try to block the move or to organize demonstrations, as Israeli security officials had expected. "Everyone's home, the weather's bad," said one worker apologetically as the IEC began cutting the company's lines.

Company engineers, served with emergency orders carrying a penalty of two years in jail for non-compliance, went to JDEC substations to help with the switchover. None was about to risk their freedom for a nationalist cause.

After the switch, JDEC technicians reconnected the cut power lines to blacked-out Arab neighbourhoods, completing the ministry's plan. (The Arab areas were not warned in advance, and Arab newspapers scrambled to find ways to print when the lights suddenly went out at 11 PM.)

Palestinians despair in electric power struggle

Joel Greenberg

"The street is not with the company," said one company official, describing a reality in which the only persons genuinely interested in the company's fate appeared to be its workers and management. A cam-

paign to raise money for the firm was suggested, but no campaign has

materialized. The workers' union issued a statement replete with nationalist rhetoric, but the real concern appeared to centre on the slated firing of about half of the employees under the new conces-

Euripedes had the first concession

THE JERUSALEM District Electricity Company concession was first granted by the Ottoman Turkish government to a Greek, Euripides Mavromatis, to supply electricity in a radius of 20 kilometres from the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In 1926, under British rule, the concession was transferred to a British company, and extended in 1928 for 44 years. After the Jordanian annexation of the West Bank in 1948, the company was given its current name, and the concession was extended for an additional 16 years.

The concession was expanded to include an area which reaches north about halfway to Nablus, south to the area of the Etzion Bloc, west to the pre-1967 Green Line, and east to the Jordan River.

After 1967, the company began to serve new Jerusalem neighbourhoods and settlements in the West Bank. The company decided to provide service to the Jewish areas on grounds that its concession required

it to supply power to all residents in its area.

Its clients reached a total of some 100,000, of whom 30,000 were Jews consuming about half of the firm's output.

The growth of Arab electricity consumption and the addition of Israeli communities forced the company to buy increasing amounts of power from the Israel Electric Corporation. Eventually it was purchasing some 95 per cent of its power from the IEC. Company officials have blamed this situation on lack of Israeli permits to operate generators, even though self-generated power has been more costly for the firm.

Energy Ministry officials say the company's mounting debt, now totalling NIS 43 million, was caused by its outdated equipment, overstaffing and inflated salaries. Company officials say the firm's difficulties were caused by an inadequate profit margin that hampered its attempts to upgrade its equipment.

sion terms.

Yet despite the realization on both sides that there is no alternative to compromise, each party this week went through the motions of confrontation. The ministry warned of a complete takeover of the firm if it refused to cooperate, and the workers said they would not give in to any measure against what is the largest Arab company in the territories.

"It's as if someone took half your property, and then agreed to sell you the half you own," said one worker. "It's a matter of principle, which we must maintain."

Israel clearly played a role in bringing the JDEC to its current position, but the company's impotence in the face of the ministry is also a product of its own mismanagement.

It is widely recognized — even among the company's directors — that the firm is grossly overstaffed. It employs some 500 workers, as compared with some 330 employed in the Jerusalem district by the IEC. The workers include Palestinians released in prisoner exchanges, hired by the company and other "national institutions" as part of a "rehabilitation" scheme.

Though the company says the government has denied the company an adequate profit margin, thus forcing it into a NIS 40 million debt, the JDEC's exaggerated outlays on salaries and benefits are widely considered a significant cause of its financial situation.

Jordan's failure to give the firm financial support appears to stem

from its unwillingness to help an institution which for years has been dominated by a pro-PLO union. Now it seems that Jordan is content to watch the company get cut down to size, with Israel playing the villain.

Meanwhile, the Jordanian government, projecting itself as an upholder of the Arab cause, proclaims its rejection of the new concession terms. Palestinian nationalists say Amman's fundamentalist interest in the company has been amply demonstrated by the virtual lack of any Jordanian media coverage of the Israeli power takeover.

The realities beneath the rhetoric, therefore, are what are ultimately guiding the fate of the JDEC.

This was exemplified by a scene at the company on Sunday night. An engineer served with an order to help in the power switch stood in a room with an Energy Ministry official, who had arrived with Border Police and plainclothesmen to enforce the new arrangement. The engineer was being compelled to go with the official to a JDEC substation to help carry out the changeover.

At precisely that hour, there was a power failure in Jerusalem's Silwan neighbourhood, served by the JDEC. The engineer and official, as if the confrontation between them did not exist, consulted on how to restore Silwan's power. The engineer went out and later returned, reporting matter-of-factly to the official about the results. "This has nothing to do with that," he said, referring to the controversial power switch. "It's business as usual."

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The Jerusalem Post.

'It doesn't take the skills of a tax lawyer to find the loopholes'

How the missiles deal could affect Mideast

WITH THE Reagan-Gorbachev summit past, much of the high-energy atmosphere is beginning already to dissipate. It now begins to become possible to consider somewhat more soberly some of the strategic and political implications of the just-signed intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) accord.

As is to be expected, the coverage of the summit in the electronic media has tended to overstate those consequences. For example, it is not true that the agreement strips NATO Europe of its theatre nuclear deterrent and will thus inevitably lead to an increasing reliance on conventional forms of deterrence. Similarly, it is too early at this stage to talk about a new era in Soviet-American relations, Secretary Gorbachev's popularity in U.S. opinion polls notwithstanding.

Several further important changes will yet have to occur in Soviet foreign and defence policy before even many Democrats will talk about a real restoration of détente. Finally, while the INF agreement does not directly relate to the Middle East, Israel may well be affected by some of its strategic and political consequences. A clearer understanding of its possible impact on the global plane can in fact illuminate these less apparent connections with issues of Middle Eastern security.

Strategically, the INF agreement eliminates a specific range (500-5,000 km.) of American and SS ground-based nuclear missiles from Europe — and in the Soviet case alone — from the Soviet Far East. For the Soviet Union, the loss of this intermediate-range capability is not militarily significant. Soviet intermediate-range missiles were introduced in the late 1950s to threaten America's NATO allies when Moscow had no intercontinental-range missiles to strike the continental U.S. and thus after the superior nuclear strength of the U.S. Strategic Air Command bomber force. The Soviets modernized this early INF force in 1977, with their mobile solid-fuel SS-20 that carried a multiple warhead and thereby set into motion the U.S. counter-deployment of Pershing II and ground-launched Cruise missiles according to a NATO decision in 1979.

Moscow's INF modernization was strategically superfluous in the late 1970s since the USSR could deter the U.S. with intercontinental-range missiles in a way that it could not in the late 1950s. The U.S. needed INF missiles only in the aftermath of the Soviet SS-20 modernization; this was recognized in President Reagan's zero-zero option of 1981. If the Soviets get rid of the SS-20, then the U.S. can get rid of the Pershing II and the ground-launched Cruise missile.

WHILE MUCH public fanfare has been made over the SS-20, NATO planners in recent years have, in private, been equally concerned with some of the shorter-range Soviet INF missiles — such as the SS-12/22 and the SS-23. Western analysts consider a bolt-out-of-the-blue Soviet nuclear attack on NATO-Europe to be highly improbable because of the threat of American retaliation; they are concerned, however, about a Soviet attempt to utilize these missiles in a conventional — and especially chemical — mode in order to win a lightning victory against NATO before the nuclear threshold is ever crossed.

In their scenarios, Soviet shorter-range INF missiles with non-nuclear warheads as well as similarly armed short-range tactical missiles (like the SS-21 and the Scud-B) are used in an initial attack against NATO command centre airbases and air defence systems in order to open up air corridors for Warsaw Pact air forces to predominate early on in the war and to assure a quick non-nuclear victory.

Because it is so difficult to distinguish a nuclear-armed missile from its conventionally or chemically armed equivalent, the new INF agreement has had to ban the deployment and production of all missiles in the 500- to 5,000-km. range, whatever their warhead might be. This fact is particularly significant for the Middle East.

Up to the present, the Soviet Union has only transferred non-nuclear short-range tactical missiles to its military clients in the Middle East. By eliminating the entire class of intermediate-range missiles, regardless of their warhead, the INF agreement assures that the Soviets will not transfer in the future INF-range missiles to Israel's military rivals. Syria is known to have sought but has not obtained the now-banned SS-23. Thus, just as the agreement complicates a Soviet non-nuclear missile attack scenario in Europe, the agreement similarly complicates possible Syrian missile attack scenarios against Israel. With only tactical missiles — many of which have dubious accuracy — Syria can only reach Israeli military assets in the northern parts of the State of Israel; an intermediate-range missile force would be necessary to cover points in the Negev as well.

In Europe, the remaining Warsaw Pact tactical missile force covers only one-third of NATO's airfields; in both cases, without access to INF-range missiles, Soviet or Syrian attack planners cannot utilize their missile forces in a surprise non-nuclear attack with any of the

same sorts of cruise missiles that it is removing from European soil on U.S. aircraft and aboard U.S. surface ships or submarines.

It is doubtful, though not entirely impossible, that the Syrian or Libyan forces might be equipped some day in the future with air- and sea-based missiles capable of striking Israel from a considerable distance. Though permissible under the INF treaty, the transfer of these systems would represent an unprecedented escalation in superpower arms transfers in the region. Nonetheless, as a general rule it is worth being aware that the INF treaty's impact on the future NATO battlefield could make itself felt on the future Middle East battlefield as well.

WHY WILL the U.S. and the Soviet Union probably continue to invest in other European-based missile systems and not seek to eliminate the INF's loopholes through further arms control agreements? The Soviets, confident of their conventional superiority, have in fact proposed to eliminate the short-range tactical missile category. It is the U.S., backed up by most of its NATO allies, that is resisting this offer. President Reagan and leading U.S. officials have repeatedly stated that the INF treaty implies no change in NATO's strategy of "flexible response," which includes the option of nuclear escalation against a Soviet conventional onslaught.

Given the choice of having to raise the necessary taxes and manpower to conventionally balance the Soviets or to retain those nuclear systems in Europe still permitted by the INF treaty, there is little doubt that NATO will prefer the continuation of nuclear deterrence. The unlikely prospects for a short-range tactical missile agreement, from a Middle Eastern perspective, mean that current stocks of Soviet missiles in the region will not in all likelihood be affected by the continuation of the Soviet-American arms control process.

The central problem for NATO is that post-INF strategic necessities could conflict with the new political environment of arms control. Britain and France might find new domestic opposition to the continued modernization of their untouched nuclear arsenals. More problematic could be German resistance to the deployment of new-generation tactical short-range missiles. The INF treaty, by retaining the tactical category, leaves West Germany alone as the likely nuclear battlefield in Western Europe; thus Bonn has expressed interest in the removal of the tactical-range missiles as well. In short, in the aftermath of the INF treaty, new strains within the NATO alliance — of which Gorbachev is probably well aware — might soon become apparent.

THESE DOMESTIC European considerations lead directly to the question of the political implications of the INF treaty, especially if it indeed has opened the way to a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (Start) — affecting intercontinental weapons — in early 1988. Have Gorbachev and Reagan ushered in a new era of renewed détente that might ultimately affect developments in regional disputes in the Middle East? Formally, no linkage has been established between the arms control process, on the one hand, and Soviet behaviour in regional disputes on the other hand.

It is to be remembered that in late 1979, linkage was ultimately established when the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan buried the chances of the U.S. Senate's ratification of the Salt II treaty. A Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, in 1987, has not been a pre-condition to either the current INF or upcoming Start agreements. But a clear Soviet timetable for withdrawal has been viewed as a pre-condition for a general improvement of Soviet-American bilateral relations — including economic ties.

While Democrats and Republicans argue over the solution of regional disputes in Central America, there has been a firm consensus over the need to support the Afghan resistance — even with shoulder-fired Stinger anti-aircraft missiles donated to many Arab states — and to pressure the Soviets to end their occupation.

While Afghanistan is geographically remote from Israel, from the perspective of American foreign and defence policy, the two have now become a part of the same region. Before 1980, Israel was defined as being part of the Middle East, while Afghanistan was identified with South Asia and the Indian sub-continent. Since that time, U.S. State and Defence Department officials have increasingly referred to both within an expanded geographic term defined as Southwest Asia.

For this reason, Soviet-American discussions often put together the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq war and the Afghan problem. With these terms of reference, U.S. officials generally insist that cooperation on a resolution of the latter two is a pre-condition for even considering real coordination in the Arab-Israeli sphere.

CONSIDERABLE progress in the area of regional disputes — especially Afghanistan — will thus be necessary before the arms control process can be described as the restoration of Soviet-American détente. In this region, even the outlines of an Afghan settlement would still leave the Soviets and Americans as rivals in the Persian Gulf — the U.S. military presence has led to an improvement of Soviet-Iranian ties and reduced Soviet interest in supporting any UN-sponsored embargo of Iran. These very complex issues will require resolution before the Arab-Israeli sector will be fully affected by the new superpower relationship.

As the dust settles from the superpower summit, fundamental questions are likely to be raised again about Soviet motives. Is Gorbachev introducing changes into the substance or only the style of Soviet policy? Is he simply trying to correct some mistaken policies of his predecessors — the SS-20 deployment and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — that set back Soviet global diplomatic interests without adding to Soviet strategic interests?

In the West, attempts are already being made to establish a litmus test for the new Soviet foreign policy. Such a test will undoubtedly include a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan as already mentioned. It will also include a serious Soviet offer to cut back significantly the quantitative superiority of Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe. In this regard, the British have been particularly insistent on a chemical-weapons accord as well. The Reagan administration has been adamant, in addition, over issues of human rights — including the free exit of Soviet Jews. If, in addition to a Start agreement, progress is made in these areas as well, then the summit will be seen in retrospect as the beginning of a new era. But having been disappointed by the attempts to establish a Soviet-American détente in the 1970s, Washington can be expected to be cautious before declaring the emergence of a new period of détente in the late 1980s.

The writer is director of the U.S. Foreign and Defence Policy Project, Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

It's the hard-nose Right that gets things wrong

THE POLITICAL left and right, in all countries, have plausible policies, between which it is sometimes difficult to choose; but there is one basic difference in ideology which cannot be overlooked. Liberals (including Israel's Labour Alignment) believe in the brotherhood of man; right-wingers (including the Likud) don't.

The two have the same hierarchy of values — up to a point. The liberals on the left have an attachment to family, religion, ethnic group, country, and also humanity. The reactionary right have the same attachment to family, religion, ethnic group and country, but not to humanity.

The implications of this diversity run all the way through each country's political life. Liberals see the foreigner as a fellow-human with rights of his own, who could conceivably be a friend and ally. Right-wingers see him as an enemy.

This dichotomy is manifest in the contrasting attitudes within Israel's coalition government towards the idea of an international peace conference. Labour says trust the guy, at least to a certain extent. Likud says don't trust them at all.

IN AMERICA, the clash, under President Reagan, is between Congress and the CIA. Bob Woodward's recently published book, *The Secret Wars of the CIA*, reveals how deeply the fault-line runs between the two opposing ideologies.

Liberals respect universalist prin-

1970s, Richard Helms (DCI at the time) had been hauled over the coals for not testifying fully before the relevant Senate committee about covert operations in Chile. Charged in court with misdeemeanour, he received a two-year suspended sentence and was fined \$2,000. A gathering afterwards of 400 retired intelligence officers at a country club in Bethesda, Maryland, gave him a standing ovation and stuffed cash into a basket to pay the fine.

JUDGING BY RESULTS, was the aggressively activist CIA in the right? Generally not. Its judgments were bad because they were not objective. Casey maintained that Mexico was loaded with Soviet agents and perilously close to revolution. Mexico could, he stated, "be a next Iran."

But it wasn't and isn't. Woodward points out that Casey wanted Mexico to look unstable and vulnerable, in order to justify his scenario for Nicaragua (which he presented as a threat to the stability of Central America).

Nor were his covert operations a great success. Gaddafi still rules in Libya, Ortega in Nicaragua. Casey urged support for Marcos in the Philippines, and we all know what happened to him.

WORST OF ALL was the mess into which Reagan got himself, with the CIA's enthusiastic backing, over the sale of arms to Iran. The American hostages to be released (in violation

David Krivine

ciples. Congress, a democratically elected body, criticized harshly the covert operations that were cherished by CIA chief (1981-87) William Casey. It classified as illegal attempts in peacetime to promote the overthrow of another country's government (Nicaragua). It condemned as illegal — grossly so — plots to assist in the assassination of a foreign head of state (Castro, Gaddafi), even if he were a cruel dictator.

Casey's creed was confined to the patriotic duty of serving his country's interests as he saw them. The principle of legality did not apply.

CIA-trained speedboat teams with local hirelings blew up most of Nicaragua's oil reserves in October 1983. One of Casey's assistants pointed out that this was in contravention of the Boland amendment, which prohibited offensive actions against Nicaragua. "That's just congressional sniping," the DCI replied.

What if Congress had caught up with these events and challenged Casey? Answer: he would have lied to them, denying responsibility.

TELLING THE TRUTH is another universalist value given high priority by the liberals. It is viewed with indifference by hard-liners (of the extreme left and right), who consider scrupulous truth-telling, like scrupulous legality, a form of otherworldly sentimentality that should have no place in the tough-minded defence of national interests.

Woodward recalls that in the

of the no-ransom policy of Congress) included a man called William Buckley. Kidnapped in Beirut, he was described at the time as a political officer in the U.S. Embassy. He was actually the CIA's Lebanese station chief, and the agency desperately wanted to release him.

According to Woodward, arms were channelled (as we have all heard) to Iran via Israel. They were priced at more than their true value, yielding a profit that was banked in Switzerland (and he gives the account numbers).

That money was intended to subsidize the Contras. The *Realpolitik* of the hawks thus led the White House into contradictions and confusions, which are hard to grasp.

First of all, covert military aid given to Iran was offset by equally covert military aid given to Iraq. Secondly, the ayatollahs, who naturally supported the Sandinistas, found themselves railroaded into financing the Sandinistas' enemies, the Contras.

Casey and his men chortled; they thought they could get away with it. Who were they kidding? Some hostages were released, but not Buckley (thought to be dead).

In the long run, as Woodward's fascinating work makes clear, it is not the liberals, with their loyalty to ethical standards, who get things wrong. The damage is done each and every time by the hard-boiled bastards of the right, as the history of every reactionary government and every anti-democratic regime this century confirms.

Industrialist Steff Wertheimer argues that private dynamism is being hamstrung

Economy shackled by jumbo government

LONG YEARS in industry and four in the Knesset have taught me that Israel needs a small government. My unhappy experience with the government in connection with my offer to take over and revive the Beit Shמש aircraft engines plant has confirmed this view. We spent a year in fruitless negotiations which only went to show that the government as presently constituted is either not really serious about privatization or it is not ready and able to carry it out.

"Government of the people by the people" is a most admirable concept. Unfortunately, in many countries, Israel included, it has been shamelessly distorted. It is my conviction that our government has developed into a large and complex federation of vested interests and privileges, taxing the public's money and receiving funds from Israel's

friends only to distribute them to its allies and supporters and to those of our citizens who find it more agreeable to take government money than to earn their own living. I would like to see a government adapted to the challenges that will face Israel in the next century; a government that will operate only in a limited number of vital areas; a small but efficient government; a poor government with no monies to

distribute, leaving the population free to pursue their business.

I would like to see our 24 ministries and their ministers replaced by a government of only six ministries: Defence, Economics; Education; Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and Justice.

Taking them one by one, this is what I believe: The Ministry of Defence must withdraw from production and concentrate only on those projects that are so secret they cannot be entrusted to civilians. This means that such activities as settlement, housing, road building, education, industry, banking and retail marketing that the ministry now has a hand in must be placed out of bounds for it.

The Defence Ministry got involved in these activities in the first place because the civilian sector that should have serviced our security needs was not up to the job from the point of view of speed and advancement.

As a result the ministry developed its own systems and framework, which, as was inevitable, expanded.

In passing, we must note that in the private sector, our export industries became bogged down in the complexities and inefficiency of the service systems and unable to im-

prove their own systems either lowered their standards or took their factories to another country where things work better.

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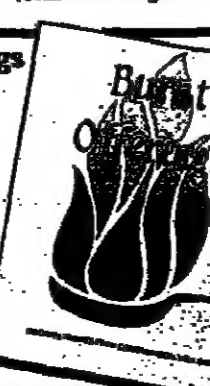
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(Continued on Page Nine)



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PROFILES

Shabbat -- a quiet solution is best

ASHKENAZI CHIEF Rabbi Avraham Shapiro was not surprised by the shouts of protest that greeted him when he spoke at the World Zionist Congress this week.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, the chief rabbi said that he was well aware of opposition from the non-Orthodox to his position on conversion to Judaism, and that his remarks were made on purpose.

"When I speak," he said, with a twinkle in his blue eyes, "I never refer to anyone in particular. But if there is someone who thinks that I'm talking about him, then I am indeed referring to him."

"I didn't go there to argue with them," Shapiro added, "but to tell them the truth."

The conflict between the chief rabbinate and other Orthodox bodies, on one hand, and between the Conservative and Reform movements and other Jewish organizations such as Hadassah, on the other, derives from efforts to amend the Law of Return and in effect exclude as Jews those who have been converted by non-Orthodox rabbis.

"It is a moral problem," the chief rabbi asserted. "No rabbi, not even an Orthodox rabbi, has a right to bring individuals who are not want-

Haim Shapiro

ed into the Jewish People. To this day, I have yet to hear an answer to that question."

He continued by saying that in his view, the non-Orthodox had a perfect right to bring whomever they pleased into their own synagogues and to pray with whomever they pleased. But, he added, it is not fair to say that they are bringing them into the Jewish People.

The irony is, he added, that in Israel, this is such an "insignificant problem," that it is not worth creating a division among the Jews over

it. Here, "only five or six people a year" fall into the category of non-Orthodox converts coming from abroad. In such cases in Israel, he said, the Reform movement should give in and refer such converts to the Orthodox rabbinate.

It is basically an American problem, he said, and he would not tell his colleagues abroad how to solve it.

ANOTHER ISSUE which the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox communities have had to face recently is that of the deferment of yeshiva students from army service. Here, Shapiro is probably closer to the point of view of the secular community in his outlook than to that of the ultra-Orthodox rabbis.

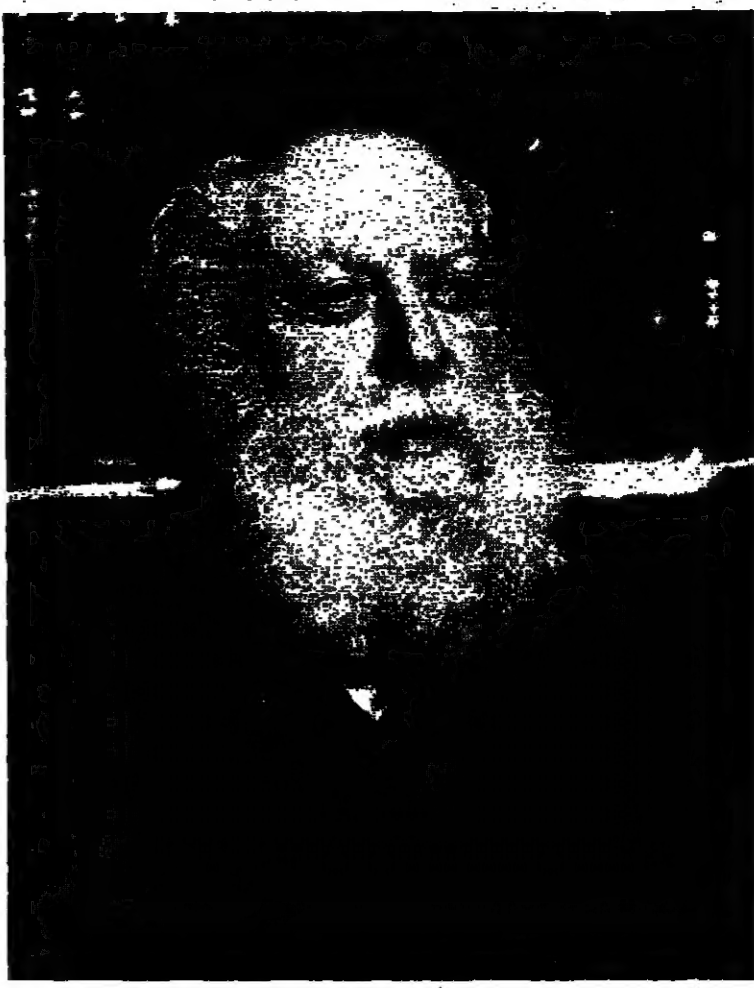
"Every Jew is obligated to defend the State," he observed, "just as every Jew has the obligation to study Torah."

The chief rabbi sees it as positive — and natural — that of seven local rabbinical court judges recently chosen, six had served in the Israel Defense Forces. This had not been the case in the past, he noted, mostly due to the fact that those chosen were too old to have served in the army.

But though he spoke of the need for army service, the chief rabbi still favoured deferments. "Eventually, every Torah scholar should serve. Only those who are opposed to the state believe any differently."

His tone was quite different concerning the recent change in the status quo regarding Shabbat — a change which came about after the Jerusalem Local Affairs Court ruled that local councils cannot legislate Shabbat observance.

According to the chief rabbi, the "great majority" of the public had no problem with the arrangement by which cinemas and cafes were closed in Jerusalem on Shabbat. The heads of both the Likud and the Align-



ment and other leaders all felt there was no problem.

The difficulty resulted from "incitement from fringe, extremist elements," Shapiro argued that no "honest secular person" has said that he needs films on Shabbat, adding frankly, "I couldn't say the same thing about soccer games. People really want them on Shabbat."

For the religious, on the other hand, the public observance of Shabbat is an essential part of the status quo which defines Israel as a Jewish State. "Even before the state was established, it was agreed that the street should be Jewish. If cinemas are open on Shabbat, then tomorrow it will be shops and bus service. Then it won't be Shabbat any longer."

AS FOR THE Shabbat demonstrations against cinema showings, there is some religious justification for them, despite the fact that they engender desecration of the Sabbath by the police, who are called out to control them, and by the media, who often film them.

Said Shapiro, "If those who demonstrate believe that nothing will come of their demonstration, then they shouldn't demonstrate. If, on the other hand, the demonstrators believe that their action will result in the eventual greater observance of the Sabbath, then they may protest, even though they know the police and the media will turn out."

Personally, though he insists that every citizen has the right to demonstrate, the chief rabbi does not like demonstrations. He feels that more can be accomplished by quiet talks with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

"In practical terms, a quiet solution is better, especially when 80 or 90 per cent of the population believes that Shabbat should be respected. It is the responsibility of the nation's leaders to eliminate the problem."

Chief Rabbi Shapiro on conversion:
"The non-Orthodox had a perfect right to bring whomever they pleased into their own synagogues and to pray with whomever they pleased. But, if they say that they are bringing them into the Jewish People, it's not fair — not to the Jewish People and not to the non-Jew (who has ostensibly been converted)."

'Jihad' might drive religious out

"IF THIS JIHAD against yeshiva students continues and gathers strength, if God forbid, we can no longer maintain the way of life we have followed for generation upon generation, if our youngsters are ever prevented from giving their full hearts and minds to the study of the Torah, then, with breaking hearts, we will have to leave Eretz Yisrael!"

Thus Agudat Yisrael's MK Menahem Porush in an interview this week with *The Jerusalem Post*.

Sitting in his office at party headquarters in Jerusalem's Geula quarter, Porush, a mentally vigorous and politically wily 72-year-old, "proud of great-grandchildren who are already the 10th generation of my family to be born here," is now recovering after having taken ill in the Knesset this week.

He recalls a meeting in the 1950s in which Aguda leader Itche Meir Levine argued out the matter of army service deferment for yeshiva students with then prime minister David Ben-Gurion.

"The shouting was so loud that Paula came downstairs and pleaded with B-G, 'Dovid, they look like your grandfather. How can you shout at them like that?'"

Dvorah Getzler

"Finally, B-G gave way. And when we asked what had made him change his mind, he answered that it was just that realization that we could no longer live here if our young men were torn away from Torah study and our young women conscripted. I want you here," he told us. That was Ben-Gurion!"

BUT THAT WAS also nearly 40 years ago, when deferments officially affected only some 400 yeshiva students. Today, according to official Defence Ministry figures, which Porush does not dispute, the number of deferments stands at 18,000, and the list includes some whose deferments have been renewed annually since 1954.

For the average Israeli who serves as a conscript and then does reserve duty, those extended deferments imply that too many do no army service. But Porush sees things quite differently.

"Those people are now heading yeshivot, serving as rabbis, as rabbinical court judges, fulfilling other crucial spiritual duties."

"This is not draft dodging. It's deferment," Porush insists. "Why, I myself have a citation from the War of Independence! Thirty per cent of the national council of Agudat Yisrael have lost sons in Israel's wars."

"All we're asking for is a deferment of service as long as a man is involved full-time in Torah study. And I want you to know that such study is no picnic. It's an incredibly difficult life."

Challenged that Ph.D. students, too, have no easy life, Porush replies scornfully:

"There's no comparison! How can you possibly compare Torah study with working for a Ph.D.? I have sons who have devoted themselves to Torah, and others who have served in the army. Believe me, the latter live far more comfortably."

WHAT PORUSH does not relate to are the findings of a Knesset subcommittee on these so-called deferments, whose number rises annually by about 1,000. Deferrees make up about 5 per cent of each year's IDF intake, and most of the 300-400 a year who are eventually conscripted contrive to delay the moment until they have reached an age when their service will be no more than a few months.

Asked how long he believes the deferment should last, Porush insists that yeshiva students "must be given every chance to prove themselves." His contention that "for many, this becomes clear when they are no more than 23 or 24" would amuse the members of the Knesset panel.

Nor is this a privilege, Porush maintains, angrily dismissing the suggestion that the majority of Israelis who do serve may reasonably expect some compensation from those who do not. "What! Quite to the contrary! Porush does not offer the usual political cant of claiming that his party wants the good of the state. He is almost brutally open in admitting that Aguda is in the Knesset for what it can wrest from such a partnership. Certainly, he says, Aguda has not lost by having his colleague Avraham Shapira chair the Knesset's formidable Finance Committee.

Aguda's minimum programme is to preserve its own ultra-Orthodox way of life for itself. If it can also coerce others, "though I prefer educational means," then so much the better. But Porush has clear red lines in defence of army deferment for yeshiva students, exemption from service for women, and a ban on post-mortems, "we will never give in."

IT WOULD BE cynical to claim that he and his party are merely going through the motions in fighting Friday night cinema performances in Jerusalem.

But for all Porush's fulminating against "that municipal judge who dares to flout both our holy Torah and two precedents of the secular



MK Porush on yeshiva study:
"The Jewish people is in the debt of those who take upon themselves the heavy yoke of Torah! It's because of their supreme dedication that we exist! There's no injustice in that. We owe nothing to anyone!"

High Court," and for all his indignation at "police brutality" directed at his son Meir — for whose release "I had to plead with his excellency the inspector as I never had to before the British" — there is a certain lack of fire here.

The Friday night cinema issue has turned Porush against Mayor Teddy Kollek, "whom I used to admire and who owes his first term as mayor largely to my influence."

"He was great, broad-minded, intent on letting everyone live their own lives. He could have gone down in history as beloved by all. Instead, he has sullied himself by becoming the persecutor par excellence of the capital's religious citizens."

"What happened I don't know. Still, mark my words, we live in an age of spiritual revival. Teddy will yet repent."

CLEARLY, ZIONISM represents no such spiritual revival, in Porush's view. This week's World Zionist Congress "meant nothing" to him.

"The Zionist movement has stripped the Jewish people of all its sacred values and replaced them with nationalism, with a philosophy that we are like every other nation."

"The political chapter of Zionist history which saw the struggle for the establishment of the state is a separate matter entirely unconnected

with Zionist ideology. With the former, we were happy to be associated. For the rest, we are at odds with a movement that does not accept that the Jewish people is nothing if it is not the people of the Torah."

Porush terms himself "a Torah Zionist. I rejoice in Zion, I weep for Zion. But the Jewish people is not to be defined by its possession of a language and a state."

Would he describe himself as an Israeli?

"I'm a Jew," he says firmly.

TURNING TO THE ultra-Orthodox political scene, Porush frankly admits that Agudat Yisrael made a grave mistake in having failed to grant its one-time large Sephardi component "the representation to which they were entitled." Yet the Sephardim themselves must bear some of the blame, he says.

"The trouble with them was that they had no tradition of public and political activity within the world of the ultra-Orthodox. It has not been part of their culture."

Ideologically, he says, nothing di-

vides Shas and Agudat Yisrael. Indeed, he adds with a hint of wistful pride, it is thanks to the rootedly Ashkenazi Aguda that the Sephardi community today has a "growing and vigorous" ultra-Orthodox element.

"Sephardi rabbis had never come out, as our rabbis did, in opposing secular education, and as a result there was no ultra-Orthodox Sephardi Jewry until Agudat Yisrael intervened just after World War One."

"Seventy to 80 per cent of everything that we gained later, whether through action in the Knesset, or at the municipal level, went to them."

WHAT PORUSH FINDS difficult to forgive is that because of what he insists were no more than "temporary tensions within Agudat Yisrael," Shas, whose real strength in the ultra-Orthodox community he puts at "no more than 20 per cent," has made grave inroads into Aguda's own Ashkenazi electorate. "The ratio of four Knesset seats for Shas and only two for Agudat Yisrael is 'out of the question'."

He dodges a query as to whether Rabbi Shach, the one-time Aguda leader and present-day Shas patron and mentor, will endorse Agudat Yisrael's next Knesset list, saying that he cannot answer in Shach's name. All he is prepared to yield is a Delphic statement that he has "good reason to believe a change is at hand. There is no longer within the Aguda electorate that same line which will see Ashkenazim voting for a Sephardi list."

Asked how he evaluates Shapira's position as "director-general of the state," he answers tartly:

"Personally, I prefer to be appreciated among my own community! I only wish the title meant something. Our problem is that this awful national unity government does not need us. And I don't like playing fifth wheel! Once, for many years, we stood outside the coalition. But the Labour governments of those years still needed our support, and then we made progress in what we wanted."

Porush has no dilemmas about Aguda's affiliations in the next Knesset.

"We will go along with whichever party is prepared to rectify the financial discrimination against the ultra-Orthodox and ready to ensure that there are no further breaches in the religious status quo."

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Many people believe that Moshe Nissim is the most able finance minister Israel has ever had. He has rejected partisan considerations and has extended his influence far beyond the economy

Moshe Nissim, the minister who destroyed a myth

Pinhas Landau



MOSHE NISSIM exuded confidence with just the right dosage of concern, as well as a thorough acquaintance with the relevant statistics, in the course of a two-hour "workout" with Jerusalem Post editorial staffers this week.

Nissim, the finance minister, Nissim the Liberal party politician, Nissim the Likud strategist and campaigner, Nissim the privatizer and free-marketeer — these were the main hats that he wore in the course of his review of the economic and political situation as the country moves into an election year that will also witness the recycling of the largest amount of government debt ever to fall due in one year.

The only thing that succeeded in unbalancing him was a question about government funding of yeshivot. This, inevitably, opened the Pandora's box of yeshiva-related issues, especially regarding failure to serve in the army, which the prime minister himself had just put on centre stage. Under pressure and clearly flustered, Nissim made what can only be described as a messy retreat. But that was very much the exception. For the rest, it was pretty much smooth sailing for the smooth and soft-spoken minister. He opened, naturally enough, with a review of the economy, its current state and future prospects. Here, and especially later, when facing a barrage of questions on economic issues, he

'Amateurism' was not an obstacle

side-stepped some punches nimbly, blocked others by countering one set of numbers with another.

Despite the fact that he was obviously on top of the details, as well as the general policy, Nissim indulged himself by recounting — for the umpteenth time — how he was forced to take the Treasury post against his wishes, and forsake his long-standing attachment to the Justice Ministry. His protestations that he had no background in economics were to no avail, no other solution being forthcoming for the April 1986 government crisis, which was sparked by his predecessor, Yitzhak Moda'i's criticism of then-premier Shimon Peres, which led to the latter firing the former.

His lack of knowledge and background has proved no bar to his becoming the most popular and, in the opinion of many, the most successful finance minister the country has had. Indeed, there may be something historic about Nissim's current political position. He has not only killed the myth that becoming finance minister is the kiss of

death to a politician's popularity, he has become the most popular minister in the government, bar none.

His talk made it quite clear, if not in so many words, that none of this was lost on him. The very first topic was election economics, of which the finance minister declared himself entirely in favour. In favour? Yes, but only 2 to 1 Nissim: "Election economics, 1988-style, means adhering to a responsible policy... Election economics in the accepted sense drags the economy into dangerous situations, and then requires that the goodies handed out be taken back again. The public are not children... I have great respect for the intelligence of the Israeli public and its ability to understand where its true interests lie."

"The public has had 30 months of stability and has seen the transition from the unrest that accompanied hyper-inflation to the current calm. It saw that the tough measures taken did not hurt for long; gross and real wages have risen, as has purchasing power — by too much, if anything. But in any event, people will not want to risk these things for short-term benefits." Nissim's conclusion, therefore, is most pleasing to a politician in charge of the Treasury: fiscal responsibility is not only inherently good, but will bring electoral benefit. To whom? "I don't know," he said, while indicating his belief that it would most likely be to the party whose man was running the Treasury and could take the credit for all the good news.

On the other hand, he says, "whoever strays from the path of rectitude will be punished in the elections. That, at least, is my belief, that the public wants and prefers a responsible policy."

WHAT DOES a responsible policy entail? Maintaining stability, of course. And the primary tool in that endeavour is to keep the budget under control, hence the minister's determination to get the NIS 750 million in cuts he has asked for, and to quash any attempt at over-spending by ministers from any party.

Nissim went to great lengths to stress his abhorrence and rejection of partisan considerations when formulating policy. As examples he cited the Lavi, wage policy and the struggle over the rescue programme for the moshavim and kibbutzim. He even displayed even-handedness by criticizing both major parties: "Who acted responsibly and who didn't? Over the Lavi, the Likud pinned the flag of national pride to its mast. On the issue of education fees, it is the Alignment that is indulging in populism. The real test will be on Sunday (when the cabinet votes on the budget proposal for

1988/89) — then we'll see who is more doctrinaire."

Having had his shot at the Likud regarding its behaviour during the Lavi debate, he was now free to fire a broadside at the Labour party over its opposition to the budget proposals in the field of health. "The health system is inefficient, there's no planning, and so sophisticated equipment is only used for one shift per day. This is all because of the structure in which the various health funds and the health ministry and the local authorities are all involved in differing degrees."

"We are not proposing to cut the health budget, merely to collect user fees from those who can afford to pay. The aim is to save money and, I don't mind saying, to make the system more efficient. Charging three or four shekels for a visit to the doctor will cut out superfluous visits and streamline the system."

"And why shouldn't operating

Money to ease the traffic congestion

theatres be used in the afternoons for people who can pay? Those who can't afford it will also benefit, because queues will shrink. Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar demands equal health services, and although most of the Labour ministers agree with the Treasury view, they have knuckled under to Kessar's line. But why shouldn't we take money from those who can pay?"

Nissim also savaged Labour opposition to proposed savings in teacher training institutes, and pointed out that the only ministry whose operating budget was being cut was housing (headed by Likud deputy premier David Levy). He summed up by noting that any claim that the budget proposals were based on party considerations was "childish. There's no other word."

Though keeping the budget deficit as small as possible in the tough fiscal year ahead was paramount, the finance minister pledged that money would be made available to ease the traffic congestion in the approaches to the big cities. In fact, extra funds were forwarded this week to Netivei Ayalon to allow it to press ahead with its building programme.

IN HIS capacity as the leading Liberal minister, Nissim was asked if he was aware of Herut's intention of gradually eliminating Liberal representation in the Likud list until eventually only he was left. This brought a tough but measured response.

"I don't know what Herut intends, although there was an at-

tempt made to cut our contingent at the end of the previous parliament that left a bad taste in everyone's mouth, especially mine. I would hope that Herut won't try to repeat that, because it would damage the Likud, and no one does things to harm themselves. Anyway," he added ominously, "the state of the Liberal party is not at all what it was in 1984."

By that, he explained, he meant that the Nissim-Sharrit-Patt camp had now established that it had a clear majority in the party. His camp now wanted to call a party convention, which Nissim was sure would much improve the party's situation. "As far as the rank and file are concerned, the party is OK. It is the leadership's fault that it has sunk so low."

While apportioning the blame, Nissim seemed to be applying the aphorism coined by Sam Goldwyn (of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) — "include me out."

Nissim had a plain message to the Herut party regarding its aspirations to merge with, and thus swallow, the Liberal party. "There can be no merger until after the Liberal party conference. There hasn't been one for seven or eight years, and afterwards we will be stronger and more acceptable partners for Herut."

He had an even plainer message for Labour, on the subject of the peace process. He took the standard Likud line, that any peace talks involving the sovereignty issue was doomed, and that the functional solution embodied in the Camp David autonomy plan was the most realistic approach available.

Nissim was in the past a key figure in the process of drafting the Likud election manifesto, and will presumably be so next time as well. On the political issues his views are mainstream Likud, but on the economic subjects, where his voice presumably carries most weight, he has been a major factor in reducing the statist/populist tradition in Herut that reached its apogee when Yoram Aridor held the Treasury portfolio. Nissim has promoted what are now called conservative economics, but were once known as liberal.

These include cutting back the role of government and selling state-owned firms as well as a commitment to free trade, and budgetary and fiscal restraint. When he plugged these ideas before the last elections no one, himself probably least of all, believed he would be in charge of implementing them in the run-up to the next. Whether he will remain at the Treasury after the elections — as well as the overall profile of the next government — may well be decided by the extent to which he succeeds in maintaining his achievements to date through 1988.

READERS' LETTERS

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR WZO

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Two disturbing manifestations cannot be disregarded by the Zionist Congress, namely the emigration of so many members of the fervent South African Zionist community to Australia, and the influx of liberated Russian Jews to the United States. Laying the blame for this at the door of these "lost" Jews — as many of our leaders have done — is both counter-productive and facile.

There are a number of suggestions which ought to be included on the Congress's agenda:

1. At present, there are two departments of *hasbara*, one at the WZO and the other at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Both have adequate personnel but, like soldiers without ammunition, are absurdly lacking in operational funds. While it is true that these departments have different functions, their product is mostly aimed at the same audience. Hence the present situation has produced sporadic, short-term activities, and a good deal of overlapping.

Zionist *hasbara* badly needs a sophisticated, global campaign, with one concept and one slogan, as befits such an international organization. Whole countries have tried it before and succeeded in changing their negative images. Take Ireland and Puerto Rico: their professional campaigns brought a host of investors into what were considered trouble-ridden countries. Multinational corporations also do it, successfully selling their products across the boundaries of different languages and mentalities.

If all Zionist and pro-Zionist orga-

nizations were to allot one per cent of their annual budgets for this purpose, a unified and effective campaign could be achieved. The savings in production costs and the elimination of prevailing duplications are obvious. Surely this approach cannot fail to blow fresh winds into the flagging sails of the Zionist ship.

2. This task can only be accomplished by professionals. We Jews have produced some of the brightest brains in the world of public relations and advertising today. Past attempts to enlist their voluntary services have failed, but not because of their unwillingness to help. They should now be called into service once more.

3. New standards of austere behaviour are called for. Instead of officials enjoying first-class flights and five-star hotels, travel abroad should be limited to the bare necessities. The money saved in sending abroad only trained speakers would perhaps not be significant, but the example set would certainly improve present attitudes towards the WZO.

Thus what is urgently needed is a high-level workshop for the development of a new cadre of speakers truly fitted to preach to the unconverted and to appeal to youth.

Everyone agrees that what this country needs is *aliya*. And so, during this week of deliberations and discussions, it is to be hoped that less time will be devoted to fighting for chairs in Zionist management and on committees, and more effort directed to filling seats on planes bringing olim to Israel.

ELIYAHU TAL
Tel Aviv.

YORDIM HUNTING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Victor Perry's article of November 27, "Our men in Silicon Valley," hardly presents the entire picture. My own experience of "yordim hunting" in the Valley is somewhat less flattering to the efforts of the various Israeli civil-servant hunters.

I would always ask these clerks whether a real job existed for which they were recruiting me, or whether they were just planning to find something (anything) for me to do when I got there. Phrased in that way, the question always elicited the reply that of course there was a real job with real responsibilities waiting for me even as we spoke. My next question — "If that's true, then how can the company afford to wait six to nine months to fill it?" — got the standard answer: "Don't worry ab-

out it. Everything will work out." We all know what that means.

In 1970, Israel Aircraft Industries recruited me in the U.S. for just such a non-existent position. It was not until three weeks after my arrival in Israel that a desk and chair were found for me, though they never did manage to come up with a real job in the two years I was there.

I attended quite a number of "recruiting events" during the four years I lived in Santa Clara County, and judging by the number of Israelis I know on whose decision to return they had any influence (that is, zero influence on zero people), I concluded that they existed only to reward the suitably obsequious employees of the host companies with a trip to America at company expense.

ALEX RAGEN
Jerusalem.

BREAKING THE LAW

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Your editorial "Dubious and clumsy" (November 23) shows how semantics influence one's psyche. Thus, the term "non-violent civil disobedience" sounds very nice and is immediately associated with such noble figures as Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi. However, in the case of Mubarak Awad, a more correct term would be incitement to breaking the law (by not paying taxes, etc.).

In a law-abiding country, breaking the law or taking the law into one's own hands should not be tolerated, and a person preaching such activities should be prevented from doing so. The way to prevent it — by expulsion or jailing — is a matter for the proper authorities to decide, but it is a matter of principle that it should be done. Therefore, the inference that we are dealing here with a "seemingly harmless voice" is completely irrelevant.

As to American diplomatic intervention, it is cross interference in Israel's internal affairs. The fact that Awad is an American citizen is no justification for trying to permit him to continue breaking the law.

Incidentally, the protection of a naturalized American citizen in the country of his birth is rather limited. Thus, for instance, I was warned that

if I, as a naturalized American citizen, were to travel to Russia, where I was born, I would not have there the same protection as a native-born American.

DR. JACOB ROSIN
Netanya.

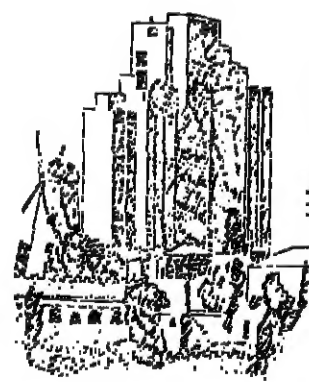
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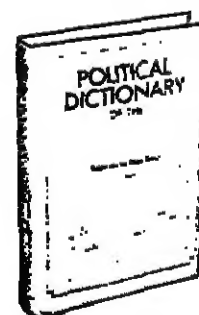
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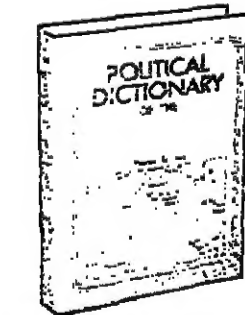
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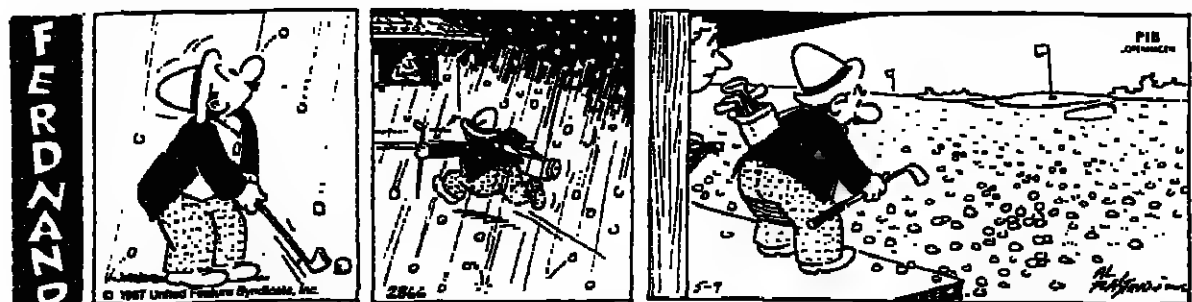


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GENERAL MANAGER

Duty Free Shop

Ben-Gurion

International Airport

James Richardson Pty. Ltd. has won the concession to operate the Duty Free Shop (selling liquor, perfume, cosmetics, and cigarettes/tobacco) at the Ben-Gurion International Airport, from November 1988.

Its operation is substantial, employing around 150 staff, and requires a top class General Manager, for immediate position, with the following definite abilities and experience:

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2. Ability to select staff for all aspects of operation - sales, administration, and promotion.
3. Definite understanding of motivation of sales personnel.
4. Understanding of efficiency in administration together with complete competence in reporting.
5. Flair for retail display.
6. The tenacity to be able to develop business by means of promotion within Israel and overseas.
7. Ability to communicate with suppliers, with government and quasi-government officials and institutions.
8. Must also possess fluent Hebrew and English (verbal and written).

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The person we seek must possess the all-round ability of an excellent retailer with experience, but not necessarily in the duty free industry.

We do not require a desk sitter but an active, energetic, hands-on manager who is prepared to be personally involved in all aspects of the business.

We regard this position as a career opportunity and one of the most exciting and rewarding in Israel, and accordingly we will offer an excellent salary package.

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The Managing Director James Richardson Pty. Ltd.
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USA
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National Insurance Institute

Notice to Women, born before Dec. 31, 1920, who have given Birth to Children in Germany

In July 1987, a law came into effect in Germany, providing for monthly payments to mothers born before 1921, their children being born in Germany or in the deportation areas in Eastern Europe, and to mothers persecuted by the Nazis, and whose culture and language are German.

Mothers born in or before 1906 are entitled to monthly payments, from October 1, 1987. The commencement dates for payments for mothers born from 1907 and 1920 are detailed below:

| | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| Year of birth | October 1, 1988 |
| 1907 - 1911 | October 1, 1989 |
| 1912 - 1916 | October 1, 1990 |
| 1917 - 1920 | October 1, 1990 |

The monthly payment payable on October 1, 1987 is DM27.20 for each child. (The payment will be updated on July 1 of each year.)

Application forms and explanatory material in German are available at branches of the National Insurance Institute.

Applications should preferably be submitted shortly before the date at which the applicant will become eligible.

Information and Public Relations Dept.



RELIGIOUS SERVICES

| SHABAT | BEGINS | ENDS |
|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Jerusalem | 4:45 p.m. | 5:15 p.m. |
| Tel Aviv | 4:15 p.m. | 5:16 p.m. |
| Haifa | 4:07 p.m. | 5:13 p.m. |
| Beer Sheva | 4:16 p.m. | 5:14 p.m. |
| Kfar | 4:30 p.m. | 5:21 p.m. |

Tara portone: Vayeshev

JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE: Fri. Mincha 4:25 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat & Mincha 4:00. Center Nephthal Herberg and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, conducted by Eli Jaffe.

YEHU'AN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE: Fri. Mincha 4:25 p.m. Shabbat, Shabbat & Mincha 4:00. Center Nephthal Herberg and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, conducted by Eli Jaffe.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES: Conventual, 4 Agon Friday, Mincha 4:30. Shabbat, Shabbat & Mincha 4:00. Center Nephthal Herberg and Jerusalem Great Synagogue Choir, conducted by Eli Jaffe.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE: Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m. Information on college program: guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.

BAR-EL SYNAGOGUE: (Progressive) 16 Shmuel Hanagid, Tel. 02-233441. Friday 5:30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9:30. Rabbi Tovia Ben-Chorin.

TEL AVIV

TEL AVIV GT. SYNAGOGUE, 110 Allenby Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Service: Rosh Hashana before Kabbalat Shabbat, by Synagogue President Avraham Hatzron. Dr. Mordechai Bulkovits, son of Yosef and Varda Bulkovits, will be called to the Law. Mincha 4:15. Shabbat 8:00. At 4:00 p.m. on Shabbat: discussion of Parashat Hachenu'ah by Rabbi S.Z. Hochman, in Yehuda Hall.

CHRISTIAN

JERUSALEM

REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Muristan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Service: English 9 a.m.; German 10:30 a.m. Tel. 32543, 826401.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Citadel. 9:30 Family service; 7:00 p.m. Evening service. Bible study, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem: Sunday services: 9:00 a.m. Worship. 10:30 a.m. Worship. Tel. 223942.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND near Railway Station. Sunday morning service 10 a.m.; No evening prayers at 7 p.m. Tel. 02-714659.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP, 7:30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 828964.

ST. PAUL'S (Pentecostal), 32 Shvitar Yisrael. 6:30 p.m. Sunday. Tel. 02-717988.

JERUSALEM CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY. YMCA auditorium, 26 King David St., Tel. 232016. Sunday, 7 p.m. Singing for the deaf available.

JERUSALEM CHURCH OF GOD. "House Of Prayer For All People" - Sat. 10:30 a.m. 18 Ein Rogel St. Tel. 718814.

NAZARENE CHURCH, 33 Nabhis Rd. Services: Sun. 10, 11, 6; Wed. 5. Tel. 283828.

TEL AVIV

IMMANUEL CHURCH (Lutheran) Tel Aviv-Yafo. 15 Rehov Beer Hofman (near 17 Rehov Eilat). Tel. 820654. Saturday Service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

HAIFA

ELIAS CHURCH (Lutheran) Haifa. 43 Meir Street. Tel. 04-523381. Sat. service 11 a.m.

OTHER CENTRES

BAPTIST VILLAGE CONGREGATION. 2 km. north of PETAH TIKVA. Saturday Service. Bible study 9:30 a.m. Worship 10:30 a.m. Tel. 052-32852.

THE MIRACLE OF ISRAEL - Send for free Christadelphian review today: P.O. Box 1763, Jerusalem.

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WHAT'S ON

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JERUSALEM

Conducted Tours

Tourists and Visitors. Come and see the General Israel Orphan Home for Girls, Jerusalem, and its manifold activities and impressively modern building. Free guided tours weekdays between 9-12. Bus No. 14, 24 or 5, Kiryat Moshe. Tel. 523291.

HADASSAH HOSPITAL, Ein Kerem. Chagall Wing - Synagogue open 8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. Tours, Sun.-Thurs., hourly, on the half hour: 8:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. Fri. open 8:00 a.m. - 12:45 p.m. Tours, hourly on the half hour: 9:30 a.m. - 1:30 a.m. Entrance fee. Half-day tours of the installations: Sun., Tues., Thurs. Details: 02-416333, 446271.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY

English tours daily Sunday through Thursday: 1. Mount Scopus, 11 a.m. from the Rotunda Reception Centre, Administration Building. Buses 9, 28, 48, 26 & 23 to the first underground stop 2. Givat Ram Campus, 9 & 11 a.m. from the Sherman Building. Buses 9, 28 & 24. Tel. 882819.

AMIT WOMEN (formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours - Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 233154.

ORT. To visit our technological High Schools call Jerusalem 533141; Tel Aviv 386171, 233231, 240529; Netanya 33744.

WIZO. To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232938; Jerusalem, 228060; Haifa, 388817.

NA'AMAT (P.W.) Visit our projects. Tel Aviv, 210791; Jerusalem, 244878.

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HAIFA

TECHNION - Israel Institute of Technology presents Jack Lemmon's narration of "The Technion Experience" at the COLER-CALIFORNIA VISITORS CENTRE. Tel. 04-210684, Sun.-Thurs. 8:30 a.m.-2 p.m.; Fri. 8:00 a.m.

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-840840.

ART GUIDE

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS 9.90 per line, including VAT. Once-weekly insertion costs NIS 29.95 per line including VAT, per month. Rates calculated according to regular newspaper column width.

JERUSALEM

Museums and Exhibitions

ISRAEL MUSEUM. Opening Exhibitions: Chinese Snuff Bottles, jade, coral etc. (18.12 at 8 p.m.). Continuing Exhibitions: Silex Collection, Masterpieces in Jewish Art (Traditional Arab Handicrafts (Palestine) Hanukkah Lamp Collections (Ticho House) "Father Series" Nurit David, 0. Hias Lalicum: Golden Memories of the Holy Land; Photographs, Boaz Tal. Renaissance themes in contemporary context (closer 12.12); "Judea Ledea, new work expressly for Israel Museum"; "Captive Dream, Jerusalem 1967 Special Exhibitions: The Priestly Benediction on Silver Scrolls (0. Negav 1987, Magdalen Abakanowicz; Emphasis, Arish Arch, Michael Gross, Yigal Tumarkin); "Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art"; Edomite Shrine discoveries from Omri, Negav; News in Antiquities 87; "Wordless India: Permanent Archaeology, Heritage and Ethnic Art Exhibitions; Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls). Rockefeller (Archaeology) Museum: Crusader Art; Animals in Ancient Art. Check in Magazine for visiting hours.

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs., 10-1; 3:30-6. Fri. closed. Sat. and holiday even 10-1. Holidays: check with Museum, 2 Hapelmach St., Tel. 02-6612912. Bus No. 15.

SR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Heichal Shalom. Special Exhibitions: Komo Ghetto, Images from Hidden Camera, photographed by Zvi Lurie. Permanent exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

SHORRAH MUSEUM of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College, 13 King David Street, Tel. 203333. Visiting hours: Sun.-Thurs., 10-4, Fri., Sat. and Hol. 10-2.

MISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM. Exhibition: Photos in Colour 1937 to 1987, Yehonatan Impressions, Nachum Tim Gidal.

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM

Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II, 8 Or Haim, Jewish Quarter, Old City, Sun.-Thurs., 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

SR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Heichal Shalom. Special Exhibitions: Komo Ghetto, Images from Hidden Camera, photographed by Zvi Lurie. Permanent exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

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TEL AVIV

Museums

TEL AVIV MUSEUM. Exhibitions: Roy Lichtenstein (U.S.A.), Drawings (0. Marc Chagall (mostly watercolour & gouache) 0. Menashe Kadishman: Myth Transformed - Painting & Monumental Sculpture 0. Treasures of the Bible Lands Museum. Robinson Pavilion: Israel Art from Museum collection. Visiting Hours: (Museum and Pavilion): Sun.-Thurs. 10 a.m.-8 p.m.; Fri. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; 7-10 p.m.

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HAIFA

Museums

THE REUBEN AND EDITH HECHT MUSEUM, Haifa University. Archaeological exhibition of objects on various themes and all periods. Special exhibit on excavations of the Temple Mount, Jerusalem. New exhibit: "Jewish Art on the Golan." Open Sun.-Thurs. 10-5; Fri. closed. Sat. 10-1. Free entrance.

HAIFA MUSEUM, 26 Shabbat Levy St., Tel. 523256. Exhibitions: Music and Ethnology: The Art of Palestine; Modern Art - Vincent - Yigal Tumarkin. Ancient Art - Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines, Shikmona finds. Open: Sun.-Thurs. & Sat. 10-1, Tue. & Sat. also 8-8. Tickets include admission to National Maritime, Prehistory & Japanese Museums.

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OTHER CENTRES

SAFAD. Israel Bible Museum. Experience the Bible through the art of international artist, Philip Ratner. Open daily, Sun.-Fri. 10-2; Sat. closed. Tel. 086-7472. Admission free.

HAZOREA, Winfred Israel Museum. 1. Iana Michael, pottery and colour photography. 2. Jewish Ritual Objects and Their Environment (loaned by Israel Museum, Jerusalem). 12.12.87-1.8.88. Visiting hours: Sat. 10-12, 6-8:30. Weekdays: 8-11:30 a.m.

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GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Kupat Holim Clalit, Roma, 523191; Belsam, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058. Tel Aviv: Arlosoroff, 76 Arlosoroff, 230748; Masvan Hayim, Zahalon branch, 96 Serot Yerushalayim, Jaffa, 814839. Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Arze, 36 Ostrovsky, Ra'anana. Netanya: Kupat Holim Clalit, 31 Brodetsky, 715123. Krayot area: Kupat Holim Herman, Simat Modrin, 715135.

Haifa: Pevanor, 27 Pevanor, 884073.

Saturday, December 12

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DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Shmuel Zedek (pediatrics, internal), Hadassah Ein Kerem (obstetrics, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology, E.N.T.). Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics, internal), Ichilov (surgery). Netanya: Laniado.

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Saturday, December 12

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Elit 72333 Rehovot 451333

Haifa 512333 Rishon LeZion 42333

Hatzer 936333 Safed 930333

Looking beyond the dolce vita

Shlomo Maoz

WE ARE ON the eve of a gloomy yet happy year — a sad year for our economy but a good one for our people. Signs of next year's problems are already appearing, but we can neither hear nor identify them because they are being drowned out by the noises of the new VCR's and TV sets competing with the whirling cycles of new washing machines. And this prosperity comes on top of our low inflation rate.

But the country's real economic problems will be noted loudly and clearly by the politicians and the economists after the voters fulfil their duty in November 1988.

Some of the negative economic indicators are flashing because of the government's decision to stick to its 30-month-long policy, even though everyone realizes that certain changes have taken place since the Emergency Economic Programme was instituted in July, 1985.

Furthermore, the government seems to have ignored the changes due to take place in the world economy as a result of the stock market collapse. Instead of taking immediate steps to meet the challenges of the financial world's new structure, such as shrinking world trade, the government is busy with the trivial issue of whether to raise the price of public transportation.

The negative developments that should concern us are:

- The level of exports in sliding-dollar terms dropped 5 per cent during October-November as compared with the third quarter of this year. The export of machines and electronic devices dropped even more — by 7 per cent. But total exports are expected to rise by 10 per cent this year in real terms. Next year, it is slated to rise by 5 per cent, according to Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno.



- The deficit, seasonally-adjusted, and excluding ships, airplanes and diamonds, rose by 18 per cent during October-November, as compared with the third quarter of 1987. The total deficit in the balance of payments has risen by \$800 million during the first 11 months of the year — meaning a 34 per cent hike to \$3 billion.

- Wages rose by 7.8 per cent in real terms during 1986, and by another 7.9 per cent during the first nine months of 1987. It is expected to rise by another 3 per cent in 1988. This will not contribute to our competitiveness.

- When wages rise, the demand for workers decreases. The unemployment rate rose to 6.9 per cent during the third quarter of the year — similar to the same period last year and seasonally-adjusted — yet still higher than the three previous quarters.

- The standard of living is soaring. Import of consumer goods rose this year by 30 per cent beyond the 65 per cent hike last year, bringing the total rise in less than two years to 114 per cent. Israelis bought 65,000 cars in 1987, 20 per cent more than 1986. Sales of VCRs and washing machines also boomed.

- While exports are sluggish, the local construction market is booming. The number of new apartments sold during the first nine months of the year rose by 33 per cent.

- Short-term interest rates have soared to such high levels that they endanger almost all vital economic activity. Official predictions for next year are not rosy. After the decrease in the long-term interest rate, which is still high — 10.5 per cent in real terms — the Treasury and the central bank expect that long- and medium-term interest rates will rise again. The Bank of Israel blames the higher rates on the government's failure to make bigger cuts in the budget. And as a result, the government will absorb financially only NIS 400 million next year compared to the NIS 1.2 billion injected into the economy this year.

- The chances for privatization in general, and privatization in falling markets, seem far gloomier now than they did before the October 19 crash. It is hard for most of the world's corporations to issue shares at this time. Israel is no exception.

So we are happy. We live in better apartments which are better equipped, we have more luxury goods, we travel abroad more often, we have higher salaries and we enjoy the five-day work-week. We are living this *dolce vita*, with low inflation and cheap foreign currency. So why complain?

The only problem is to whom do we owe thanks for all this opulence? To Nissim's Likud or to the other major party in the national unity government? We have 11 months to think about it.

'Workers must be ready to accept new arrangements'

The wage trap: How to get out of it

Avi Temkin

While the Histadrut and the government adapted themselves to the new situation, the private employers did not. They went on living in a dream world where there would always be "enough" inflation to offset the nominal wages increases they granted. New ground-rules were needed, rules applicable to what the labour federation secretary-general, Yisrael Kessar, described as "a world of small numbers." But the employers were slow to realize this. They granted wage increases that made the January 1987 devaluation of the shekel inevitable.

Bruno and Nissim thought they had learned their lesson, and could be relied upon not to commit the same mistake again. Due to the Histadrut's agreement to waive part of the cost of living allowance, real wages went down on average by over 3 per cent in the first three months of 1987. But some months ago they realized that the same thing had happened all over again in the subsequent months. Real wages in industry rose by almost 9 per cent from March to September, and probably continued rising in the last three months.

NOBODY KNOWS whether this time Nissim will again agree to a devaluation of the shekel. But even if he does, it will be a very small one. The task of regaining equilibrium in industry will rest on the industrialists' shoulders, and will depend on their willingness and ability to fight a tough battle against wage in-

creases. From Nissim's point of view, the problem is that, due to existing wage agreements, even if no new hikes are agreed upon in the coming months, wages are set to continue drifting upwards in 1988. Moreover, the collective wage accords for both the public and private sector expire at the end of March, and this opens the door for new accords, which could easily lead to fresh increments.

Nissim's strategy will apparently be to have no increments at the collective wage agreement level, leaving them to be granted at the plant level by those firms that can afford it. His hope is that by now the employers have really come to realize that no one is going to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them.

To avoid the need for a big devaluation, Nissim hopes that the workers and the Histadrut will agree to a certain amount of wage erosion next year, particularly in those industries that were hit by the fall in the value of the dollar. He has declared his interest in a new Co-L arrangement, which would lower considerably the linkage of wages to prices. Formally the Co-L accord is signed between the Histadrut and the private employers, but Nissim has already hinted what type of accord he would like to see. The employers have probably got the message.

ACCORDING TO Nissim's plan, the workers would get smaller compensation the longer it took prices to

climb by a certain amount. The result would be wage erosion. Workers in profitable industries could get additional compensation, and even real increments, if the plants' financial situation allowed this. But those in losing enterprises would have to come to terms with the loss in real wages.

Such a plan, Nissim and Bruno expect, would enable the economy to enjoy lower inflation rates in 1988, while ensuring industry a satisfactory level of profits. The trouble is that it entails a series of risks.

First of all, workers must be prepared to agree to the new arrangements. As long as inflation goes down, no major pressures should be expected. But if for some reason workers come to the conclusion a rise in inflation is to be expected, they will try to get early wage increases to compensate for the potential loss in real salaries brought about by the new Co-L accord.

This would produce a self-fulfilling prophecy, and probably trigger a new bout of wage-price-rate of exchange hikes.

The second problem is that the increases in wages in recent years have not been uniform. Wages in the public sector particularly are very low, and pressure must be building up that could erupt at any moment and wreck the wage-restraint efforts.

Nissim's only hope is that he will be able to implement, as soon as possible, a plan to cut down the size of the 400,000-strong public sector workforce, and distribute the savings among the remaining workers.

Treasury and Histadrut representatives are currently negotiating on this issue, but the question is whether they will be able to come to an agreement soon enough to defuse the time-bomb, and whether, if they do, they will be able to implement it.

Nissim and Bruno know that Israel's economic stability hinges on their ability to steer wage developments in the right direction in the coming months, something they have not been able to do in the past. Without the support of fiscal policy, and with a monetary policy that has lost its way, they will have a formidable task.

EQUALITY

(Continued from Page One)

long to the Reform, Conservative or Orthodox stream. They are all equal as Jews in our eyes and in the eyes of Israeli law.

Turning to conversions performed abroad, Shamir said that a solution to this problem should be sought "through consultations, tolerance, and understanding, based on Jewish unity and solidarity." This formula appeared to exclude legislative solutions, such as the proposed change in the Law of Return.

The talks aimed at forming a new WZO Executive coalition, bogged down last night over the Likud's demand to get one of the major departments dealing with the Diaspora, either the Aliya Department or the Youth and Hehalutz Department. Labour was ready to give the Likud the treasury and two smaller departments.

Science Minister Gideon Papp was chosen as one of the General Zionist (Liberal) members of the executive, raising the possibility that he might be in line for a major portfolio. Papp lost to Dinitz in the vote for chairman.

Outgoing WZO chairman Arye Dinitz, who campaigned for the presidency of the WZO, looked out at the Congress presidium yesterday morning for using a "trick" to push this question off the agenda. The presidium voted Wednesday night to put off the vote for the presidency until June, and this decision was affirmed yesterday by a majority of the Congress.

Leaders of nearly all parties sought to prevent a vote on this issue in order to save Dinitz's embarrassment of certain defeat. Dinitz refused to accept other honorary titles that would have avoided bringing the issue to a vote.

Ben-Porath is HU rector

Jerusalem Post Staff
Prof. Yoram Ben-Porath has been elected rector of the Hebrew University by the institution's Senate. Ben-Porath has been vice-rector for the past year and will succeed the outgoing rector, Prof. Amnon Pazy. Pazy will continue as the university's president.

eyes of an American institutional investor.

Bezek has engaged Shearson Lehman as its investment banker, even though First Boston is working on the general plan for all government companies. How come? Because everyone involved agrees that there must be at least one major sale before the elections, and because privatization procedure is to start with telecommunications company.

The point is that behind the scenes there are far more advanced than most people believe. In a typical Israeli paradox, this is more easily discerned from New York than Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.

The process whereby a government divests itself of ownership of economic assets, especially businesses, is universally known as "privatization," because it involves sales to the private sector, whether individuals or corporations. Purists argue that the correct term is "denationalization," although that would only be valid if there had in the past been a nationalization — as, for instance, occurred in the French banking industry.

In Israel there is still great debate about the Hebrew term that should be applied. *Hafkara* is commonly used, since it expresses the concept of the private sector and even of the individual investor who, at least if the British model is followed, will be expected to buy equity in the major government corporations. Some people don't like the word — often they are the people who don't like the very idea — but no one has come up with anything better. The common solution is to use the English term.

The economic pages are edited by Post Economic Editor Shlomo Maoz.

Something happened

The first in a series which examines the growing role of major U.S. banking firms in Israel's projected plans

will buy anything (let alone Bezek or El Al) out of Zionist goodwill.

But there is a clear difference between making peace and doing business. Henry Kissinger's dictum that even paranoids can have real enemies was coined to describe Israel's quandary over peace. The same

Pinhas Landau

hardly applies to economic policy — rather the reverse. If there is a suspiciously high level of opposition to privatization it is because the opponents are paranoid, not because the country has real enemies.

These opponents are convinced that privatization will destroy their cosy protected existence; make them work harder; reduce staff and hence their power; and end cushy directorships for supporters (choose whichever applies to managers, workers, trade union leaders and politicians.)

Hopefully, they are right; in which case they do have real ene-

mies — the Israeli ministers and civil servants pushing for privatization. And the threat has become more real because the "privatizers" are not using statements from George Shultz, but five American bankers who want to do things.

Nonetheless, it is worth examining the motives of all those involved, especially the Americans, as well as the far more practical problem of whether, even if there is goodwill all round, any major sales are possible in the wake of the October 1987 stock market crash.

Then there is the who and how of privatization: which companies are being lined up for sale, and in what order; and how are they to be sold — directly to investor groups, or through stock market flotations? If through the latter, where — New York, Tel Aviv, or other markets as well?

Finally, what is the Israeli political background? Why is everyone suddenly so keen on privatization, and how much of this support is genuine? How does this tie in to the imminent elections?

These are the main questions that have to be answered, once it is accepted that something is happening. If you are still dubious, though, consider this:

You may have read recently that Bezek intends to increase phone rates. What is not usually stated is that this is part of the company being "prepared for coming to market," which depends on it having an acceptable profitability level in the

ON NOVEMBER 19th, 1977, as Anwar Sadat stepped on to Israeli soil, a mesmerized Israeli TV commentator breathed "the unbelievable is happening before our very eyes."

Ten years later, the same syndrome is at work. Things once thought unbelievable are happening, and if the degree of publicity is rather less, that's because the subject matter is rather less dramatic, and the people involved prefer to operate without media hoopla interfering.

In the last 12 to 18 months the ostracism of Israel by most of the world's financial community has been breached in a number of very significant ways.

Some of the things that are happening are in arcane realms of international finance, involving credit facilities with abstruse acronyms like NIFs, caps, and swaps.

To the general public, and even to most professional economists, this is Sanskrit. But the fact that more banks from more countries, including southern Europe and the Far East, are becoming "exposed" to Israel, is clearly significant.

These developments are closest to everyday life in the area of selling government companies, and that is what this series of articles is going to focus on.

In this field, where so far the talk has been plentiful and action scarce, the big news is that top-of-the-line American investment banking firms are seriously interested in the Israeli government's privatization plans.

Some of these have done business with Israel before; notable is Shearson Lehman Brothers which, after its acquisition of EF Hutton, is the biggest brokerage house in the U.S.

SHARON

(Continued from Page One)

The Jerusalem and national police have declined to comment on the security measures they will be taking next week. Some police officials, however, have been quoted as demanding a special budget for the manpower that will be required to guard Sharon around the clock.

Though a Sharon aide claimed several weeks ago that Sharon is buying the apartment, he is actually sub-leasing it from the Ateret Cohanim organization, which rents the building from the Wittenberg Foundation. The trust is a charitable foundation set up by a wealthy Russian Jew who immigrated to Jerusalem over a century ago.

The trust's charter prevents its directors from selling its properties because the rent money received is used to finance charitable projects, according to Tuvia Goldman, the trust's lawyer.

Jews lived in Sharon's new building until the Arab riots of 1929, when the place briefly served as a Haganah position, Goldman said.

The building was administered by Jordan's Custodian For Absentee Property after the 1948 war and was returned to the trust after Israel's victory in the 1967 war.

The trust leased the building to an Arab merchant, Awad Abu Snehineh, until September 1986, when a judge agreed to evict him because he had not paid his rent for seven months, Goldman said.

Half of Sharon's neighbours will be nationalistic yeshiva students and half will be Arab tenants whose contracts protected them from eviction.

Sharon's spokesman, Amiram Fleischer, said that Sharon would not comment about his new apartment nor about Koller's criticism since the whole affair was a purely personal matter.

ASHER WALLFISH adds: Likud faction chairman Haim Kaufman yesterday sharply attacked Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev because of the media report that the police were demanding a special budget to guard Sharon. He called on Prime Minister Shamir to bring the matter up at next Sunday's cabinet meeting and compel Bar-Lev to order the apartment guarded.

"Bar-Lev is trying to dodge his duty," Kaufman charged in a statement to Knesset reporters. "The Israel Police is not his private police force. Every citizen, especially a former defence minister, has the right to enjoy full protection from the police and the Shin Bet."

Kaufman was apparently hinting that the Shin Bet had voiced concern, privately, about the risk Sharon would be taking when he moved to the Moslem quarter and about the extra men who would have to be diverted to assure his protection.

"Ever since the Yom Kippur war of 1973, Bar-Lev has not managed to shrug off the trauma of his quarrel with Sharon, and he is incapable of detaching himself from his personal hatred of Sharon," Kaufman added.

In 1973, when Prime Minister Golda Meir called in Bar-Lev to direct operations on the Sinai front, Sharon clashed with him frequently, and tried to act independently, according to military historians.

(Continued from Page One)

time during the packed news conference discussing prospects for sweeping U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements.

U.S. officials said they still continued to believe that Reagan would visit Moscow in about six months, though neither the president nor the general secretary mentioned any such future summit during their formal farewell statements at the White House.

Earlier, standing under an umbrella in a heavy rain just outside the White House, Reagan said that "these last few days have been exciting, indeed, for both of us." He said the summit had been "a clear success."

"I believe that both the general secretary and I can walk away from our meetings with a sense of accomplishment," Reagan said. "We have proven that adversaries, even with the most basic philosophical differences, can talk candidly and respectfully with one another, and, with perseverance, find common ground. We did not hide from the weighty differences that separate us. Many of them, of course, remain."

Gorbachev, sounding a similar note, said, "In these last hours before our departure for home, we note with satisfaction that the visit to Washington has, on the whole, justified our hopes." He added that "a good deal has been accomplished."

The Soviet leader did not discuss details of the regional and human rights discussions but did predict — without elaboration — that "on some of these aspects, it seems that we can soon identify specific solutions,

SUPERPOWERS

satisfactory both to us and to other countries."

Gorbachev expressed hope that he would be able during a future visit to the U.S. "to see not only its capital, but also to meet face to face with its great people, to chat, and to have some lively exchange with ordinary Americans."

Regarding human rights, Reagan avoided any direct mention of Soviet Jewry. "Our exchange on the subject of human rights underscored the priority we in the Western democracies place on respect for fundamental freedoms," Reagan said. "I am pleased that during this summit, we addressed this area of heartfelt importance and have ensured a continuing dialogue on human rights at the highest levels of our government."

Reagan, for his part, obliquely raised the Soviet Jewry issue during his toast in honour of Gorbachev at a Soviet embassy dinner Wednesday evening. Without mentioning Soviet Jewry by name, he said, "What better time than this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season of spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land and spoke of the hopes of your people for a better life in a world of peace. These are hopes shared by the people of every nation; hopes for an end to war, hopes especially, in this season, for the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience."

Only hours earlier, Gorbachev had chided American newspaper editors and broadcast executives for

raising the human rights issue with him. He said the U.S. had no right to impose its version of human rights on the Soviet Union.

Interviewed on ABC television yesterday, the official Soviet press spokesman, Gennadi Gerasimov, also complained that the U.S. was constantly citing only the emigration issue. "You interpret human rights very narrowly," he said, "only in a sense of exit. And if we look, for instance, at your country, the gates to your country are not open all the time and not to everybody. So, it's a question we can discuss."

Earlier in the day, Vice President George Bush described Gorbachev as a new kind of Soviet leader. "There is no question something is demonstrably different," he said. "Some of it is age and vitality. Some of it is the almost Western way in communicating." He added that Gorbachev has a good sense of humour.

Walter Ruby adds: The National Conference on Soviet Jewry reported yesterday that it has learned that long-term refugee, Avraham Kagan of Leningrad, was granted permission to emigrate yesterday, and that 20 refugee families have received calls from Ovir, the Soviet emigration agency, urging them to reapply for emigration visas.

Among those receiving such calls were said to be Abe Stolar and his family, Vladimir Dashevsky and his family. Dashevsky's daughter Irina, who left for Israel earlier this year, has been in Washington in recent days, making frequent public appearances to demand her father's freedom.

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A view of the summit

THE HYPERBOLES which attended the signing this week of the U.S.-Soviet treaty for the elimination of all intermediate-range nuclear missiles held by the two superpowers, should be taken with a goodly grain of salt.

To decry the INF treaty, as some of its anti-Soviet critics have done, as a replay of the notorious Munich pact, is sheer demagoguery. In consenting to its terms Ronald Reagan yielded unilaterally nothing, even of what is America's own, to Mikhail Gorbachev. What the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party has now accepted is essentially the "zero option" proposed six years ago by the American president, and originally rejected by the Politbureau; and he accepted it under stringent U.S.-devised terms for mutual verification.

The reports from Washington about "Ron" and "Mikhail" having also discussed a timetable for the Soviet army's withdrawal from Afghanistan seem to indicate that an immediate political bonus from the summit may in fact be some slight shrinkage of the Kremlin's empire.

What induces scepticism is the bombastic inflation of the very limited missile accord into a historic watershed and a giant step towards world peace. Wars, as UNESCO's founders pointed out long ago, may be waged with bombs and missiles but they start in the minds of men.

A far greater degree of mutual trust will need to be generated between the superpowers if the ban on "tactical" missiles is to be extended, even partially, to the truly devastating intercontinental missiles, at the next summit, which is scheduled to be held in Moscow in another five months.

One reservation about the prospects of nuclear disarmament being pushed through has to do with Mr. Gorbachev's hold on the Kremlin. By boldly brandishing *glasnost* and *perestroika* as his mottoes, Mr. Gorbachev has greatly impressed people in the West. But his reformist ideas remain too radical for the tastes of his heavily entrenched internal opposition.

At his back Mr. Gorbachev must now be hearing his second-in-command, Igor Ligachev, working overtime to wrench the party apparatus, a Soviet leader's irreplaceable power-base, from his control. If Mr. Ligachev has his way, which is not impossible, Mr. Gorbachev will be done in, and with him his grandly conceived policy, both domestic and foreign.

But can Mr. Gorbachev himself be credited with sincerity in his declared search for disarmament and peace? Mr. Reagan, like Mrs. Thatcher, apparently believes that he can. But Premier Yitzhak Shamir takes a dimmer view. He has let it be known that, to his mind, the general secretary is interested not in nuclear disarmament as such but only in securing economic advantages for the Soviet Union from the Americans. As if the two objectives were irreconcilable. Hopping, as it were, on Mr. Shamir's bandwagon, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres yesterday suggested that, despite the agreement with the U.S., the Soviets might yet supply intermediate-range missiles to the Syrians. The possibility, needless to say, exists. But if the Soviets did so, they would with one fell swoop be undoing all of Mr. Gorbachev's work at this week's summit, and face awesome global consequences.

That Mr. Shamir and Mr. Peres should, in these ways, appear to be aligning themselves with the Reagan critics is strange.

THE MORNING AFTER

Time is on our side, believes Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Time is on our side, argue many on the Arab side. Either of these points of view may yet be vindicated. But from the perspective of those of us living in the present, that can sometimes be of small comfort.

Time was hardly on the side of Shlomo Takal whose throat was slit by terrorists in the heart of Gaza last Sunday. Time was not on the side of the Moses family from Alfei Menashe, or the reportedly disturbed young Arab who has confessed to throwing that lethal petrol bomb at their family car and will stand trial for the dastardly act.

Time was not on the side of the soldiers who were caught up by the venom of a rampaging mob of Arab pupils in Jebel Safa or later in Gaza town and used their firearms to extricate themselves. Nor was time on the side of Hatem al-Sisi, the 17-year-old youth who may have thrown a molotov cocktail at the patrol and then paid with his life in the subsequent shooting.

More and more ideas are being tossed into the arena about what to do with the troubled Gaza Strip. In touting demilitarization, Vice Premier Shimon Peres is considered to have been shooting from the hip. It may or may not be a well thought out idea but it is surely an indication of the deepening malaise, a realization that time cannot simply be allowed to run its course.

As an article in this week's *New York Times* on the civil war in Ireland reminded us, in most ways we aren't that different from other people, our conflict is not that unique. But here, things have a tendency of developing more quickly, with much greater intensity. Trends have a habit of being concentrated into a much shorter time span than elsewhere.

Time may not be on anyone's side - it may just be running out. New ideas on how to unravel this present agonizing situation need to be urgently entertained.

YORAM KESSEL

MOU TALKS

(Continued from Page One)

been reached on the waiver of a 38 per cent administrative charge that has been added onto the cost of those elements of the aircraft that will be produced in Israel - a step that could save Israel between \$30 million to \$40 m.

• The future of joint Israeli-American development of the Arrow (Hetz) anti-tactical ballistic-missile defence systems (ATBM), in which Israel wants America to cover 80 per cent of the costs. The Americans currently are offering only 50 per cent participation, with the remainder being divided between 10 per cent from direct Israeli funds, and 40 per cent from Israel's FMS (foreign military assistance) funds in the U.S. Israel has decided to propose the Arrow to the U.S. instead of a more modest programme developed by Rafael - the AB310.

Israeli participation in programme development, if Rabin is unable to change the current terms being offered, will be around \$70 million over the next two years. The defence minister has let it be known that securing agreement on the Ar-

row is one of his highest priorities. • The negotiation of the Cocom agreements that will allow Israel to import the same technology from the U.S. as do NATO countries. The agreement would severely limit Israel's ability to transfer elements of this technology to third countries - specifically China. Thus, the Cocom accords, while a potential blessing to Israeli industry, could serve to severely restrict Israel's ability to export high-technology systems. Rabin is going to try to find a way of reconciling these two contradictory elements.

• Continued American funding for the Popeye stand-off air-launched missile that could eventually be worth \$1 billion in orders to Israel. While Congress last year appropriated \$10m. for the project, the \$3m. that had been earmarked by the administration for continuing the programme this year is being held up in Congress.

The American Strategic Air Command has displayed an interest in procuring the missile, but the Navy is opposed, preferring instead to go ahead with its own development, the Slam.

ALONG WITH the picture of Theodore Herzl, there should have been a picture of the Lubavitcher Rebbe in the corridors of the Zionist Congress this week in Jerusalem. For this was the Rebbe's Congress.

For the past several years, the hassidic leader who resides among his followers in Brooklyn has orchestrated a political campaign in Israel to change the Law of Return so that immigrants converted abroad by non-Orthodox rabbis will no longer be treated as Jews by the government.

This campaign, aimed mainly at the religious parties in the Knesset, has so far failed in fulfilling its main purpose. But it has produced a remarkable reaction from an unexpected quarter. As Prof. Arthur Hertzberg, a Labour delegate to the Congress, put it, "The Lubavitcher Rebbe created the conditions that led to the takeover of the World Zionist Organization by a coalition composed of the Israeli left and the liberal Diaspora."

The backlash to the campaign to change the Law of Return occurred mainly among American Jewry, on two fronts. One was a broad coalition of Jewish organizations led by the Council of Jewish Federations and backed by the United Jewish Appeal, which has persistently warned the Israeli establishment that capitulation to the Orthodox establishment on the Who is a Jew issue would cause a severe rift with the Diaspora.

This warning clearly implied that a change in the Law of Return would torpedo fundraising for the Jewish Agency and WZO, since most of the contributors are affiliated with the Reform or Conservative movements. This concern spilled over into the Agency itself two years ago when, for the first time, the Agency assembly took a strong stand on an internal Israeli political issue by condemning the attempt to change the Law of Return.

The main political backlash from the Diaspora came on the Zionist front, however, and was felt in the elections to the Zionist Congress earlier this year. The American Reform Zionist organization, Arza, increased its representation by one-third at the Congress; the Conservative Zionist organization, Mercar, rose in representation from zero to 22 delegates. Both also gained votes as a result of attempts in the Agency/WZO to deny them their fair share of funds.

The groups hit hardest by the backlash were Hadassah, the largest component in the Confederation of United Zionists, and the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), which had provided the backbone of the Likud's support in America. Reform and Conservative Jews make up the bulk of their members, and many of them "crossed over" to vote for Arza and Mercar.

THE HEBREW expression "go to Gaza" is another way of saying "go to hell." As we all know, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. And ironically, Shimon Peres's latest proposal to demilitarize the Gaza Strip may in the end tighten the noose that binds Israelis and Gazans together.

There are too many questions to be asked about Peres's declaration: Was it a slip of the tongue or calculated? What does demilitarization mean in this case - IDF out, GSS in? Who will protect the General Security Service personnel - UN troops? Is it part of an overall plan for a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation in the occupied territories? Or is it a case of "Gaza first" and then we'll see?

Let's assume that the demilitarization of the Gaza Strip is part of the overall scheme for the occupied territories that was discussed recently by Peres, King Hussein, the Egyptians and the Americans. Why then reveal only the part relating to the Gaza Strip and nothing about the West Bank?

Even if the declaration was a slip of the tongue, Peres had good reason for not mentioning the rest of his plan. Unlike the West Bank, Gaza, in the minds of many Israelis, is a nightmare. The sooner we get rid of it - the better. Unlike the West Bank, the Gaza Strip raises no

Who's a Jew backlash at Zionist Congress

THUS IT happened that the elections to the Congress put Labour in a position to command a solid winning majority. In the months preceding the Congress, Labour put together a coalition which controlled about two-thirds of the votes, composed of Mapam, the Confederation, Mercar and the world-wide Reform group, Arzeinu.

This did not occur in a vacuum, however. Labour had cultivated its ties with the Reform movement since the late 1970s, and an ideological affinity emerged between them on a number of issues, particularly the peace process. In addition, Labour managed to keep its promise to return efforts to change the Law of Return even though this jeopardized its position with the Orthodox parties.

The Likud contributed to its own downfall in the WZO by repeatedly and blatantly supporting attempts to change the Law of Return.

The Likud didn't advance its case either with "the Americans," as Labour's partners were referred to, by its heavy-handed efforts to knock them out of the Labour orbit. The Likud strategists mistakenly thought that a few appearances by the debonair Gideon Patt and some eloquent words from Moshe Arens - bolstered by threats and pressures from other quarters - would be sufficient to pull them away from Labour.

The determination of the Confederation, Mercar and Arzeinu to stick with the agreement with Labour, through all the ups and downs preceding the Congress, won grudging praise even from Patt himself as he conceded defeat in the vote for WZO chairman. He said to "the Americans" that, "I tried hard to get your votes. I am disappointed that I failed, but I am proud of you for fulfilling your commitment to Labour."

Practically from the moment the Congress convened, the Labour bloc steamrolled its way through procedural challenges and obstructionist tactics used by the Likud, then pushed through to victory for Labour candidate Simcha Dinitz, by a sizeable 310 to 220 majority over Patt.

Mercar and Arzeinu had obvious reasons for preferring Labour over the Likud, in addition to the attraction of the portfolios on the WZO Executive that Labour promised them.

The Confederation faced a dilemma, however. In the past, it had preferred to support whatever party

controlled the government, but at this Congress, it had to choose. The choice went to Labour, not only because of the promise of a major portfolio, but also because the Confederation could not possibly stay outside the bloc opposed to a change in the Law of Return.

It would have been suicide for the Confederation, or rather Hadassah, to put itself in the position of the ZOA, which had painted itself into an electoral corner due to its close identification with the Likud.

SO IT happened that Who is a Jew became one of the most riveting issues discussed by the Congress, even though it wasn't even formally on the agenda. Furthermore, it seemed that only when speakers addressed this issue did the constant din and commotion in the main hall of Binyanei Ha'uma momentarily cease.

Charles Hoffman

Former WZO chairman Arye Dulzin raised this issue in a dramatic way on the first day by appealing to the leaders of both major parties, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir, to make a pact to take this divisive issue off Israel's political agenda.

Peres readily agreed, but Arens, who was standing in for Shamir, did not even respond. Dulzin also stated that, "Since the international organizations of the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform joined the WZO (in the late 1970s), the pluralism within the Jewish people has received full expression in the Zionist movement." He also urged all Israeli parties, including the Likud and the National Religious Party, "not to lend a hand to the initiatives of anti-Zionist hardliners (ultra-Orthodox), who want to force the state of Israel to take a step that will split the Jewish people."

Indeed, Dulzin deserves much of the credit for encouraging religious pluralism over the years within the Agency/WZO, and it was his insistence on holding elections for this Congress - over the opposition of Hadassah and the ZOA - that enabled major gains for the Reform and Conservative movements.

The issue was also raised in the opening ceremony by Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapiro, who said, referring to non-Orthodox conversions, that "It is a disgrace to pass off a goy as a Jew."

This prompted an angry rebuttal

by Arza president Rabbi Charles Kroloff, who said in a statement that the chief rabbi's "incendiary and divisive statement confirms our belief that the office of the chief rabbi is an anachronism that ought to be eliminated for the sake of Israel and the Jewish people. His remarks are a depressing reminder that the only kind of Jewish unity the Orthodox forces are interested in is one that maintains their political power, and that desires to fashion the Jewish state in their own image, without regard to the needs and desires of most Israelis and most Jews around the world."

Prof. Hertzberg, who is also a Conservative rabbi, stressed that Diaspora Jews could live with a situation where non-Orthodox conversions are not recognized by the Israeli rabbinate, as long as this did not impede a convert's ability to make aliya or as long as the practices of Diaspora rabbis were not denied legitimacy by an act of the Knesset.

"I did not start the battle over this issue," he said. "As a Jew, I believe that we need peace and understanding between us. Jerusalem was destroyed in ancient days because Jews would not accommodate themselves to each other. Without flexibility, we cannot work together."

The resolution submitted to the Congress calling on the Knesset to grant equality to all religious streams of Judaism in Israel also aroused much controversy.

The Mizrahi Party, which had sought to keep religious issues off the agenda, found itself again torn between the need to identify with the Orthodox position and defend the chief rabbi, and its desire to preserve its ties to the non-Orthodox within the Zionist movement.

These exchanges on the floor of the Congress for a brief moment illuminated one of the functions of the WZO that has not become outmoded or discredited. This is to provide an elected parliament for the Jewish people - a forum where representatives of Israeli and Diaspora Jews can face each other on common ground, and on more or less equal footing, to tell each other what they really think about issues that really matter.

This can't happen in the Knesset, where Diaspora representatives are not allowed to speak in the chamber; nor can it happen at major Jewish gatherings in the Diaspora, where protocol demands a deferential posture toward visiting Israeli

dignitaries. It can't happen in the World Jewish Congress, which is not an elected assembly; nor can it happen in the Jewish Agency as long as it maintains its quasi-philanthropic nature.

Unfortunately, this sense of what the Zionist Congress could be was not felt by most first-time Diaspora delegates, since their impressions were overwhelmingly coloured by the disorder and politicking that dominated the proceedings.

UNTIL NOW, political dominance within the WZO and Agency was assured by the outcome of the elections to the Knesset. The party that came out on top in the national elections would also assume the lead in the Zionist movement. Thus Labour, which had dominated the WZO/Agency since the mid-1930s, yielded to the Likud after 1977.

This Congress was different, as neither large party was willing to concede dominance to the other, and each worked hard to take the chairmanship and a majority on the executive. The composition of the winning Labour coalition was also different, since its success hung on votes supplied by three American Zionist groups.

Labour's reliance on Diaspora votes to maintain dominance enhances possibilities for change in the WZO and Agency. Both the Confederation and Mercar, which formed a bloc of their own within the coalition, want to eliminate or at least reduce the influence of Israeli party politics in the workings of the Zionist movement.

While Mercar, Arzeinu and the Confederation are naturally eager to get the portfolios promised to them, they have less of a stake in the entrenched system of patronage than the Israeli parties do. It will be their job to make sure that Labour makes good on its commitments to restructure and reform the WZO and the Agency. They will be more harshly judged than Labour if they sacrifice the broader goal of reform in order to maintain their newly won pieces of departmental turf.

The Reform and Conservative Zionist organizations appear to be promising avenues for involving wider circles of Diaspora Jews in meaningful issues in contemporary Israeli life, especially since the older Zionist organizations tied to Israeli parties have lost much of their relevance.

Their success in the elections to this Congress makes it essential for them to develop a positive programme to attract and increase their membership, since they may not be able to rely next time on the Rebbe to provide the ingredients for a backlash vote.

(The author is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.)

Gaza: Peddling illusions

Yehuda Litani

biblical associations - except as an enemy (Philistine) stronghold.

Nowadays, the Palestinian Arabs have replaced the Philistines; 650,000 Palestinians live in an area with the highest population density in the world. Most Israelis view Gaza as an ugly area which provides a daily supply of manual workers. Israelis very rarely visit Gaza; they are afraid of being stabbed. They have no reason to visit Gaza. Besides the security men, some journalists and a very few businessmen who have to be there, the only Israelis in Gaza are the 3,000 Israeli settlers.

BUT PERES is not courageous enough to reveal the overall plan. He prefers to feed the Israelis with Gaza first. It is much more easy and popular than offering them the relinquishment of the "cradle of our nation", i.e. the West Bank. Does it matter that the same dangers of the "demographic threat" - terror and civil rebellion - exist in the West Bank, possibly to a larger extent than in the Gaza strip?

No. Because it is an election year and Peres is more than eager to win what might be his last election cam-

paign. The Labour Party's prime concern is to win over the "floating voters." These voters, according to experts, are right of centre. So why bother them with such a tricky problem as the West Bank?

Has the proposal been seriously studied? Could it really be implemented (especially in light of the almost bloody strife between pro-PLO and extreme fundamentalist Moslem elements)?

If you can't beat them, join them is the usual adage. The Israeli version of it concerning the Gaza Strip is: if you can't beat them, get rid of them. But the truth is that we cannot get rid of them. Not now. Maybe 20 or 18 years ago we could have done so by simply returning the Gaza Strip to the Egyptians. But after signing the Camp David agreement, it was more than clear that the

Egyptians do not want it either. For them too it is a curse and they do not wish to be involved in any future arrangement that would tie them to that area. The Jordanians will only become involved if there is an overall settlement of the territories. They are more interested in obtaining access to the Mediterranean than in ruling 650,000 Palestinians (1 million by the year 2000), most of whom are extremely hostile - to say the least - to the Hashemite regime.

No West Bank settlement is possible under the present unity government, and the Jordanians are not so stupid as to agree over the Gaza Strip, without getting anything in the West Bank. At present, even the thought of an agreement with the PLO is beyond imagination. And so we are back to square one - stuck with Gaza.

And if you ask why Peres made his demilitarization statement this week, aware that for the time being

it is impossible, the answer is that he could not resist the temptation. He is a peddler of illusions trying to sell us quick remedies for a malignant illness. As a diagnostician, Peres is rather good. But when it comes to the remedy he falters and comes up with solutions that could never work.

Is he better or worse than an obstinate prime minister who keeps saying "no" to any new idea concerning the peace process? It is probably true to say that he is neither better nor worse, because the outcome will be just the same.

(The author is Middle East editor of The Jerusalem Post.)

Readers' Letters are on page 9

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